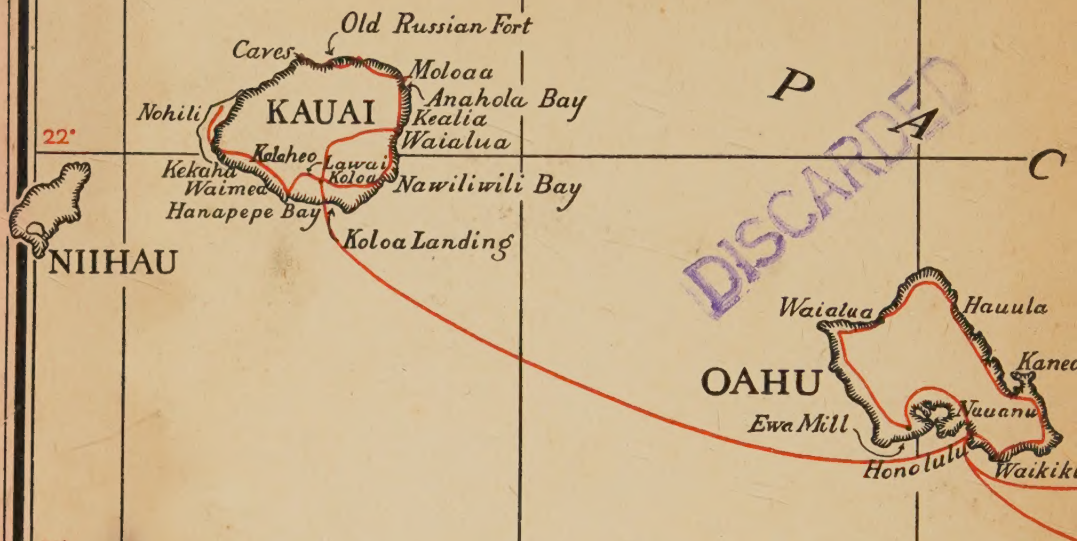


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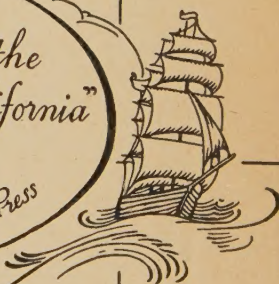
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Map to accompany
"Around the Horn to the
Sandwich Islands & California"
1845-1850
by Chester S. Lyman
Published by the Yale University Press
1924



SANDWICH ISLANDS

157°

156°

155°

MILES

15

30

45

60

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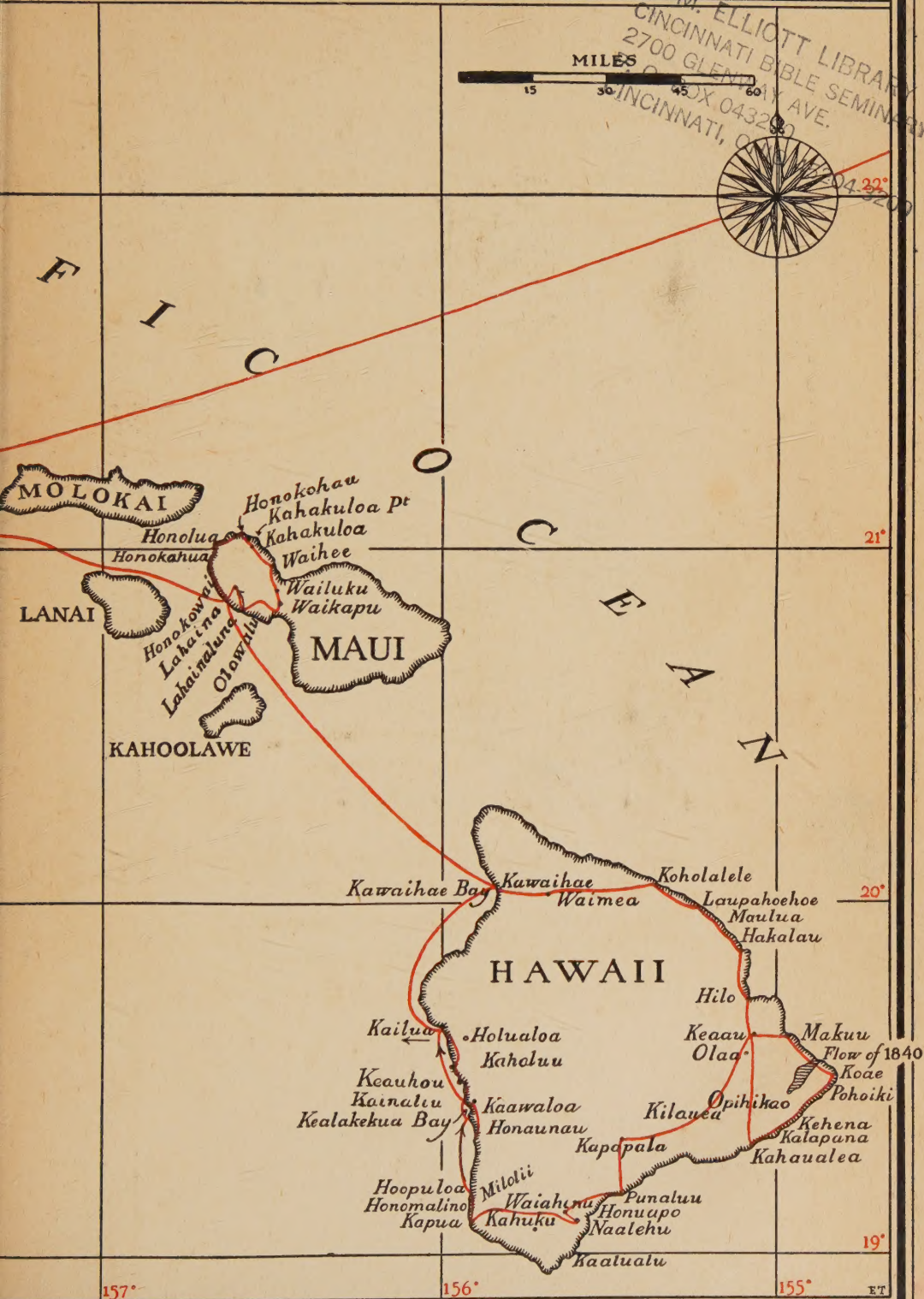
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E.T.



MOLOKAI

LANAI

KAHOOLAWE

MAUI

HAWAII

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Kahakuloa Pt
Kahakuloa
Waihee

Wailuku
Waikapu

Honokowili
Lahaina
Lahainaluna
Olowalu

Kawaihae Bay
Kawaihae
Waimea
Koholalele

Lau pahoe hoe
Maulua
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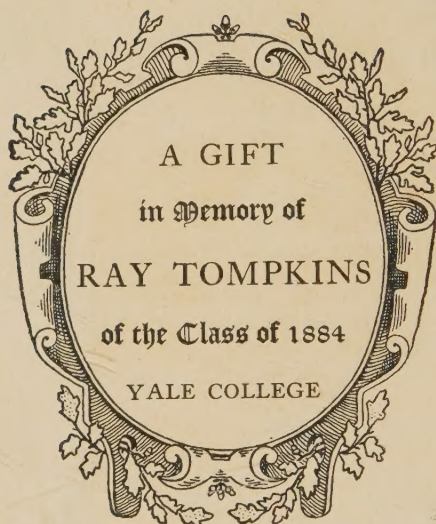
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Kainaliu
Kealahakua Bay
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Pohoiki
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Kalapana
Kahaualea

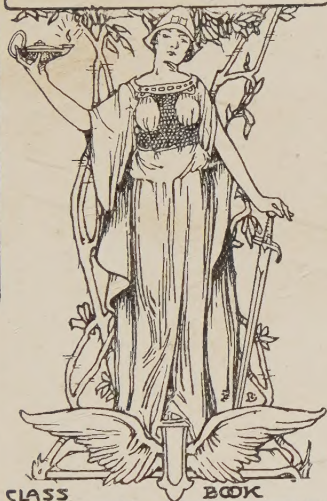
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Kilauea
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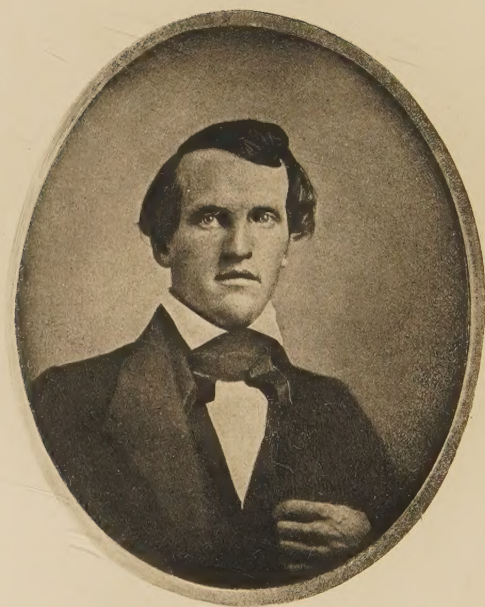
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AROUND THE HORN
TO THE
SANDWICH ISLANDS AND CALIFORNIA
1845-1850



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CHESTER SMITH LYMAN

1843

AROUND THE HORN
TO
THE SANDWICH ISLANDS
AND CALIFORNIA
1845-1850

BEING A PERSONAL RECORD KEPT BY
CHESTER S. LYMAN

SOMETIME PROFESSOR OF ASTRONOMY AND PHYSICS IN YALE UNIVERSITY

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. TEGGART

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY D. L. P.



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PREFATORY NOTE

IN its present form, the Journal of Mr. Lyman has been reduced about one-half. The excision of matter has followed certain obvious lines: comments on the weather, remarks on the health (and seasickness) of the author, and desultory statements of ordinary activities, which occur throughout the diary, have usually been omitted, as well as many descriptions of natural scenery and occasional recitals based upon hearsay. Such omissions are not indicated; but an occasional editorial note has been supplied wherever, without such a note, the omission of a passage might impair the clearness of the narrative. Otherwise the Journal has been printed almost precisely as it stands. The original is clearly written, and modifications of the text have been unnecessary, save in regard to the author's uniform practice of using "wh" and "fr" for "which" and "from," and in employing dashes of varying proportions in place of the usual punctuation marks. In a few instances, the signs < > have been employed to indicate the Diarist's later additions to or corrections in the manuscript. The Editor's emendations and notes are enclosed in the customary square brackets.

THE EDITOR.

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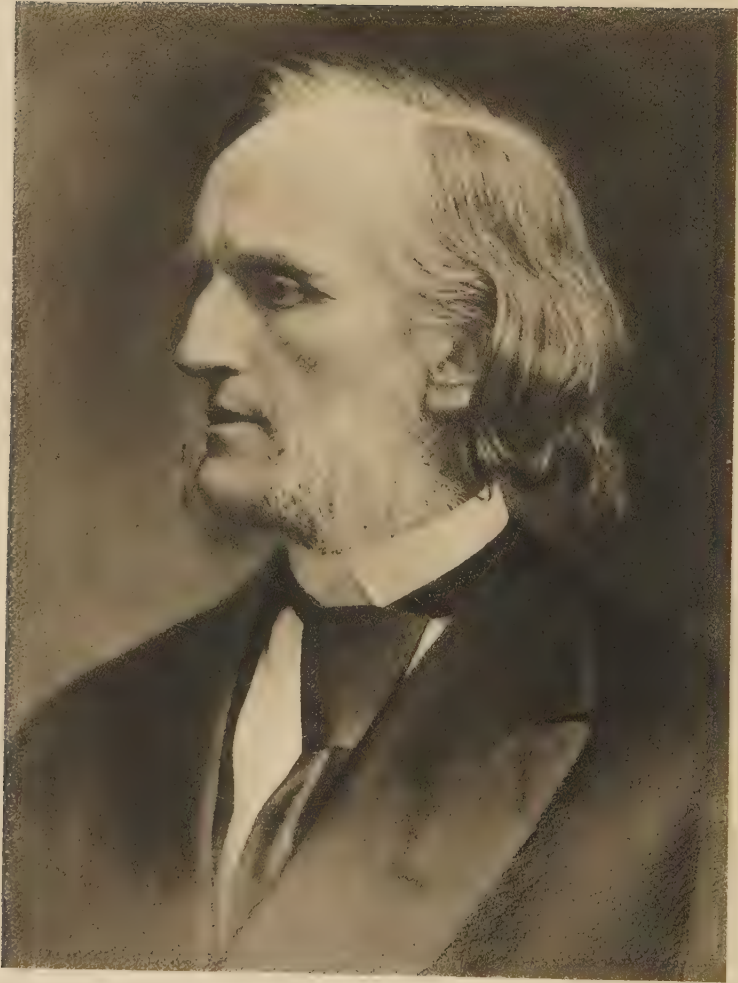
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* This map is redrawn from the corresponding area of Lieutenant E. O. C. Ord's 1848 map (see cartouche) with hardly any attempt to correct the obvious inaccuracy of the original, which was the map actually used by the author of this journal in his two visits to the gold fields. Many of the spellings have been changed to conform with those used in the diary; but the topography, however distorted, is reproduced substantially according to Lieutenant Ord's version.—*Editor*.



CHESTER SMITH LYMAN

1875 c.

INTRODUCTION*

IN fourteen little hand-sewn note-books with home-made covers of brown paper has been hidden away for three-quarters of a century the original diary of which about half is published in this volume. It contains a three-fold record: a voyage of eighteen thousand miles on the Ship *Mariposa*, which left New York, October 1, 1845, and arrived in Honolulu, May 14, 1846; a stay in the Sandwich Islands of thirteen months; and a stay in California of two and three-quarters years. Its unique value consists in the fact that it is not only a contemporaneous description of those interesting days, including the gold discovery of '48, but also the record of a scientist, devoid of exaggeration or coloring of the facts—reliable with almost photographic exactness.

To the reader of to-day, who by train may traverse the continent in four days and thence by fast steamer reach the Islands in six days, this story of a seven-and-a-half months' voyage around Cape Horn presents a vivid contrast. The daily record of its hardships and monotony is enlivened by very human comments on the life and people on board and by detailed description of the unfamiliar and interesting ports of the west coast of South America, at which the *Mariposa* made three welcome stops.

Fully to enjoy the second period of the Diarist's experiences, those in the Sandwich Islands, it is necessary briefly to recall the most romantic and stirring story in all missionary history—that of the transformation, by a little group of New England missionaries who arrived twenty-six years before, of a race of savages given over to degrading and revolting customs, including human sacrifices. In 1809, on the steps of one of the Yale College buildings, young Obookiah, a Hawaiian lad, was found

* In preparing this Introduction, use has been made of a few paragraphs taken from an article by the same author entitled *Sketch of Chester S. Lyman*, published in *The Popular Science Monthly* for November, 1887, vol. 32, pp. 116-121.

weeping because he had no chance for a Christian education. As a result of his plea, in 1820, forty years after the discovery of the Islands by Captain Cook, Hiram Bingham, Asa Thurston, and a little band had arrived at Hawaii. Within a few years their labors, reënforced by those of later comers, had accomplished amazing results, culminating in 1839, just seven years before the Diarist's visit, in a great revival. This extraordinary religious awakening spread like wildfire from island to island, "a veritable National Pentecost," in which hundreds and thousands became converted every week and sometimes as many as twelve hundred were baptized at a single service.

By the time of the Diarist's arrival in 1846, some natural reactions had set in; and his thirteen months' record of visits to every missionary station reveals many an interesting picture, both of heathen depravity and degradation and of the devotion and kindness of the early missionaries in their simple homes.

Two other features of his sojourn are of special interest. For several months he had sole charge of the Royal School for Young Chiefs which had been started by Mr. Amos S. Cooke in 1839. Among Mr. Lyman's pupils were five who afterward became kings of the Islands. The permanence of the friendships there begun between teacher and pupils is shown by an interesting collection of letters still preserved, as well as by the visits at different times in later years, at the Diarist's New Haven home, of Queen Emma, King Kalakaua, and Bernice Pauahi. (It was Bernice, his favorite pupil and lifelong friend, who gave up her right to be queen in order to marry Mr. Charles R. Bishop.)

Of special interest also are the detailed observations of Mauna Loa and its great crater Kilauea, with a circumference of seven and a half miles and a magnificent lake of fire, the largest in the world, a thousand feet across. To the visitor of to-day, who drives to the very rim of this lake on the splendid automobile highways of the

Hawaiian Volcanic Park, the Diary presents a strange picture. Through arduous and dangerous experiences were acquired the information and the data for maps which enabled the writer to send to eastern scientific journals the most trustworthy and scientific records of the conditions of the great volcano at that time. One of his maps was later incorporated in Dana's volume on Volcanoes.

Scattered throughout the pages on the Sandwich Islands are many descriptions of natural scenery which enable us to realize afresh the force of Mark Twain's confession: "For me, its balmy airs are always blowing; its summer seas are flashing in the sun; the pulsing of its surf-beat is in my ear; I can see its garlanded crags, its leaping cascades, its plummy palms drowsing by the shore; its remote summits floating like islands above the cloud racks; in my nostrils still lives the breath of flowers that perished twenty years ago."

In July, 1847, the Diarist arrives at San Francisco, then a mere village newly laid out among scrub oaks and sand-hills. The only thoroughfare on which there were enough buildings of any sort to show which way it ran was Montgomery Street, then on the water-front and in one place covered with water at high tide, but now many blocks inland.

To those who recall the fascinating story of the Spanish occupation of California and of the early days of its acquirement by the United States, the Diary's record of nearly three years' stay is especially full of color. Home letters received in Hawaii had been full of the Oregon question, settled by the acquisition of Oregon by the United States under President Polk in 1846. The very year of the beginning of the Mexican War, Colonel Kearny, after the conquest of New Mexico, had marched on to California, only to find it already won for the Americans by Lieutenant Frémont and Commodore Stockton.

On nearly every page of the Diary are illuminating incidents of the new régime: vivid pictures of the orgies of gambling, drunkenness, and profanity of San Fran-

cisco; of the charming hospitality of the old-time Spanish homes, black-eyed señoritas dancing fandangos to the music of castanets and guitar; of nights spent in the rough homes of the ranchmen when the Diarist goes to re-survey San José, incorrectly laid out by an incompetent predecessor; of vexatious horse-stealing by the Indians; of the dangers from grizzlies of too neighborly a disposition; of the survey of the famous New Almaden quicksilver mine; of a meeting with a young Lieutenant William Tecumseh Sherman, which proves the beginning of a lifelong friendship.

But most interesting of all is the story of the discovery of gold in 1848. While the Diarist is engaged in surveying San José, the news comes one day that gold has been found at John A. Sutter's mill in the Sacramento Valley. The surveyor's men will be off at once. The only way to persuade any of them to finish his work is to promise that later he will go with them. And then follows the story of his two months' stay in the gold-diggings—of the kind of life which was lived, of the prices to which commodities soared, of the sort of men who rushed there in the first days of the gold fever. The Diarist's long letter to the *American Journal of Science* was probably the first authentic account which reached the east. Extensively copied by the press, it had no small part in augmenting the crowds which began to pour into the goldfields from all over the civilized world. But the life there was too rough to make its golden rewards longer worth while, and the pages of the Diary record a return to the work of surveying, which continues until in 1850 the writer sets sail again, via Panama, for home.

It is not only on the scenes and events of these interesting periods of Hawaiian and Californian history that the Diary throws light. Between the lines is also revealed an interesting personality—the product of the two great dominating interests, religion and science, of the recorder's make-up. There is here no conflict between science and religion. On the same page and with equal zest are recorded meteorological observations and the text of a

missionary's sermon, the height of a mountain and the number of converts at a communion service. The Diary might in fact be called the story of the evolution from a scientific clergyman of a no less religious man of science.

The writer of these little note-books, Chester Smith Lyman, eighth lineal descendant of his first New England ancestor, Richard Lyman, who came from England in 1631, was a country boy, born January 13, 1814, in Manchester, Connecticut, the only son of Chester and Mary Smith Lyman. When a very little boy, he evinced an unusual mechanical ingenuity. But even more obvious was his intense interest in astronomy and kindred sciences. Long before the ordinary boy is out of the grammar grades, and with no advantages but those of a common country school, he had acquired by himself, from the reading of a few books got with difficulty, the elements of geometry, trigonometry, surveying, and astronomy. Before he was in his teens he had extemporized a rude telescope by means of his mother's spectacles, a small burning lens, and a yardstick, through which, to his intense delight, he saw the cluster of Pleiades expand into many bright stars. Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen he had constructed many astronomical and other instruments—a quadrant, sextant, orrery, solar microscope, and others. Grinding the lenses himself, he also made a reflecting Herschelian telescope four feet long which enabled him to show Jupiter's satellites, Saturn's rings, and the craters of the moon to the country folk who came from miles around to look through it. He computed the eclipses for fifteen years to come; and, without ever having seen a nautical almanac, he made rough but approximately accurate tables to give the places of the planets in almanacs which he made for 1830 and 1831.

Entering the Ellington School, then one of the best preparatory schools in New England, he fitted for college in twelve months' time, entering Yale in 1833. During his course he took several literary prizes and graduated with high rank in 1837. In his Junior year, with his classmate William M. Evarts and three others, he founded and be-

came an editor of the *Yale Literary Magazine*, the oldest existing college periodical in the United States. After graduation he taught for two years. But his interest in a scientific career had given way, even before he entered Yale, to a determination to enter the ministry. After studying theology in Union and Yale Seminaries, he held a short but very successful pastorate in New Britain, Connecticut. There a throat trouble developed which obliged him to travel for his health. The story of his life up to this point explains the curious blending of scientific and religious interests shown on every page of the Diary which records his more than four years of travel and adventure.

With quadrant or theodolite we see him calculating the height of a mountain, or, by counting the seconds of a stone's fall from a precipice, the depths of a valley. Now he computes the longitude or latitude of a place or records the temperature or condition of atmosphere or clouds; now he details the story of a fallen meteorite, explains the geology of a region, or makes minute observations on the long-past lava flow of a volcano.

It was these absorbing interests which, after his return to New Haven, determined his life career as a teacher of science at Yale. After some time spent in preparing the definitions of scientific words for the unabridged edition of Webster's Dictionary, he became in 1859 professor of Industrial Mechanics and Physics in the Sheffield Scientific School, taking an active part in the building up of the school in its early years. In 1871 his chair was that of Physics and Astronomy; from 1884, his health failing, that of Astronomy alone. He was connected with Yale for thirty-two years, the last two as Professor Emeritus.

Professor Lyman was the inventor of the combined transit instrument and zenith telescope for determining latitude by Talcott's method—an instrument which was used for many years and known by his name in the governmental survey of British India. Among other inventions was an ingenious device for showing how the curves of sea waves are formed, described by his successor, Pro-

fessor Hastings, as "the most perfect and remarkable apparatus ever designed for the explanation of a highly complex phenomenon"; a pendulum apparatus describing acoustic curves; and various improvements in clock escapements and compensating pendulums. He was the first to observe the planet Venus as a delicate ring of light when very near the sun in inferior conjunction. He was one of the founders of the Yale Observatory and a director until his death in January, 1890.

Although, of the two great predilections revealed in the Diary, the scientific determined his life calling, the religious by no means lost any of its depth or genuineness as the years went by. Not infrequently called upon to preach, always actively interested in the work of the Church, he was also a fearless seeker after truth and years ahead of many of his contemporaries in a liberal and rational interpretation of the Bible.

The Diary reveals, too, a great kindness of nature, evidenced, for example, in his playing the Good Samaritan at San José to the luckless gold-digger who already owed him a goodly sum. Throughout his life this trait endeared him to all who knew him. And his uniform practise of treating his students as gentlemen, rather than as schoolboys, gained for him their universal respect and affection. In the words of an editorial printed at the time of his death, "His was a noble character, which independently of knowledge and science has made the world better by its presence and enriched all who had the good fortune to come under the range of its influence."

In the pages of this Diary, kept, without thought of publication, during more than four of the most adventurous and varied years of a life of over threescore and ten, the reader sees the world, then, through the eyes and with the heart of this Connecticut clergyman, Hawaiian missionary, land-surveyor, Californian gold-digger, editor, teacher, and man of science.

Mingled with the scientific and the religious strain of the Diary there is one other element of recurrent interest, to which the last page is an altogether satisfying con-

clusion. The Diarist's impatience for the first letters from home—they took more than a year to arrive—is now explained. Within five days of the traveller's return he becomes engaged to that one who, through all his wanderings, had been as the North Star in his heart—"D. W. W.," who was Delia Williams Wood, a granddaughter of Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth. There is no record of the "supper and fixings for twenty-five persons" which was to be the forfeit paid by Mr. Steadman if he lost his wager of August 8, 1849,* that the Diarist would not be married within a year after his arrival at home. Lose it he did; for a little more than two months after the traveller's return, the story ends, as every good story should, with a wedding—"Cake and cards for 100."

D. L. P.

1923.

* See page 298.

I.

NEW YORK TO VALPARAISO

VALPARAISO TO CALLAO

CALLAO TO HONOLULU

OCTOBER 1, 1845, TO MAY 14, 1846

I.

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE FROM NEW YORK FOR THE PACIFIC OCEAN

THE *Mariposa* in which we sailed from N.Y. is a Merchant Ship of 330 tons, 110 feet in length, 25 ft beam & 32 ft deep, drawing about 15 ft water. She is owned till she reaches the S[andwich] Is. by Messrs. A. G. & A. W. Benson, & <Todd & Co.> Capt Hale of N.Y. after that by <Todd & Co.> Capt Hale. Through the noble generosity of the owners I have my passage to the Sandwich Islands gratis, whither I go in search of health, having suffered for 2 or 3 years from a throat complaint, &c.

Our ship is stout built, but uncomfortable from its careening, occasioned by her narrowness of beam. The Cabin is on deck, with accommodations for 8 passengers besides the Capt. & two mates. We have 7 Cabin passengers—Mr Ferdinand Coxe of Phil^a. traveling for health, Mr. Lippman from Paris Fr[ance], & Mr Ernestrall [or Ernstal] from Bavaria Ger[many] who go out as speculators, Mr Thompson, a Sea Captain, designing to settle in California, & Mr Haley a printer from Maine, who is taking out a power printing press to Lima S.A. His wife accompanies him. There are besides four steerage passengers, going to settle in Oregon. The crew consists at starting of 10 hands, mostly dutch, or North of Europe men, temperance men of course as no liquors are provided or allowed by the Ship. The passengers in this particular are allowed to suit their own tastes & some of them have not failed to lay in plentiful stores. Capt Spalding, our Skipper, is from Salem & a fine man, gentlemanly & intelligent. His son accompanies him, as a hand & as Capt.^s Clerk.

Our ship got under weigh from N.Y. about noon, Oct 1, 1845, with a fine breeze from the N.W. & beautiful weather. About 3 PM we passed Sandy Hook & discharged the Pilot, & in a few hours were out of sight of land.

For myself, I soon began to feel the effects of seasickness, & for about 10 days was for the most part confined to my berth, being able neither to eat, nor keep on deck. Became extremely weak, & kept soul & body together on what little water gruel I could keep down. During these first ten days, & especially while crossing the Gulf Stream, the weather was rough & unpleasant, the ship pitching badly, & rendering the situation of an invalid any thing but enviable.

The first Sabbath on board I was wholly confined to my berth. There were no religious exercises on board, nor any thing that seemed much like the Sabbath on land.

Thursday, Oct 9th was an eventful one on board. The day was stormy, with a gale from the Northward. In the morning while four of the hands were employed in reefing a sail, the footrope on which they were standing gave way, & it was only by a remarkable Providence that none of them fell. Their narrow escape from death was calculated to give one a lively impression of the perils of a sailor's life. But this accident seemed only a presage of another in the afternoon. About 3 P.M. a noise was heard in the Cabin, & to the Captain's inquiry "What's that?" it was replied some one has fallen. It was soon ascertained that a seaman had fallen from the foretop to the deck, where he was lying senseless. Every means the ship afforded was instantly employed for his recovery, but without avail. He had first fallen upon the cook house, & thence to the deck. A deep gash was cut over the right eye, & though for a short time he gave some symptoms of life, it was impossible to rouse him & he soon breathed his last. The event spread a gloom through the ships company, & that eve the usual game of whist among some of the passengers was dispensed with in the Cabin. Some took the Bible in their hands, others sat in silence, others still, kept on with the novel or romance which they had previously been reading. The name of the man killed was Edwardo Gauss, a native of Trieste, Italy where he has a sister & other friends. He was a fine seaman, a sober, sensible man, temperate in his habits & economical in his living, in con-

sequence of which, during the three years since his first coming to this country, he had been able to lay up in a N.Y. Savings Bank some \$250. And he was anxiously looking forward to the time of his return to his home & establishment in a more settled mode of life. But, poor man! his visions were not to be realized.

The next day I was requested by the Capt. to officiate at the funeral. Between 8 & 9 AM the body was prepared for burial & placed in the leeward gangway on a plank from which it c'd readily be slipped into the deep. The ships colors were run up & all hands assembled on deck. The day was somewhat stormy, the sea high, & the winds sighed solemnly among the rigging. Being scarcely able to be on deck from my recent sickness, I made a few brief remarks & then read the burial service of the Episcopal Church. The body was plunged beneath the blue waters, & the scene was over. Never, it seemed to me, had I attended a funeral in so solemn circumstances, & long will it be before the impressions which this scene made on my mind will be effaced.—The deceased was brought up a Catholic, & had with him his Bible & Prayer book.

The Sabbath, Oct 12th again passed without religious exercises on board, as I was still too feeble to officiate. There was more solemnity however apparently than the week before. The day of the funeral I took occasion to distribute a number of religious tracts among both the crew & passengers, in hopes that at such a time their influence might not be lost. As to the passengers however, the prospect of doing them much good in a religious way is rather dark. Not one is pious, 4 or 5 are avowed infidels—or Deists—some going so far as to deny the existence of God & the immortality of the Soul. Our Capt. is a Unitarian.

Oct. 20, Monday. Yesterday the sea was rough & the wind blowing a gale, as it had done since Friday PM, & the Sabbath passed off very little like a Sabbath on shore. The passengers were collected in the Cabin, some talking French or German, some reading good books & some bad—Payne's [Thomas Paine's] *Age of Reason* [first part published Paris, 1794], 6 penny French Novels, &c. &c.

At noon Monday a small Shark about 5 ft long was taken & soon killed; accompanying him was also taken a small fish (succor) about 6 in long. The Shark was the Blue Shark of the Atlantic.

Oct 21, Tues. A beautiful sunset. A partial rainbow appeared just before sunset. The magnificence of coloring in the sky & clouds was such as I never saw on shore. Dark blue, orange, green in various shades were arranged & blended in a most attractive scene. Yet much more glorious sunset scenes are said to be witnessed within the tropics.

Oct 23. Nearly becalmed, ship makes very little progress. This forenoon many Dolphins made their appearance about the ship. Their appearance in the water is exceedingly beautiful, from the variety & changableness of the splendid colors which they exhibit. Two of them were taken, one by a hook, the other by a spear or pronged fork. They were from 2 to 2½ ft in length. When out of water they cease to exhibit their beautiful coloring.

Oct 26. Spent the day mostly in reading. Not able to preach. Mate distributed Bibles & tracts. Several of the passengers had no Bibles. These spent the Sabbath in reading French Novels, &c. &c.

[Oct.] 28 Tuesday. AM. A whale seen to spout & a vessel visible at a distance; both soon invisible. Weather very pleasant, wind northerly, probably the commencement of the Trades. Capt Spalding remarks in a great number of voyages out he never had so much unpleasant weather & such contrary winds as since we left N.Y.

Nov. 1 Saturday. This afternoon the effects of Edward Gauss who was killed by falling from aloft were sold at auction. The sailors bid liberally & the articles brought about their full value. From some Mss. & books he appears to have been educated above his class.

[Nov.] 2. Sunday. Pleasant, wind changable & captain thought it best not to attempt any religious services. Spent the day chiefly in reading Bible & some religious works in [The] Christian Lib[rary; a reprint of popular

religious works, New York, 1836]. A vessel seen in the offing nearly all day.

Sat. Nov. 8. Fine weather & fine breezes for the last few days & we are advancing as rapidly on our voyage as our vessel, which is a very dull sailor, will carry us. With a good wind we go from 5 to 7 knots an hour, never over 8. We are now in the trade winds, though their direction for several days has been not far from East, if any thing somewhat south of E. The sea has been rather rough, & though not sick yet I do not entirely [cease] to feel unpleasant effects from the motion of the vessel.

Yesterday 2 or 3 flying fish came on board. They are a handsome fish resembling somewhat the perch but furnished with wings for flying. One of those that flew on board was about 9 inches long, with wings about 5 in each in length, made to expand like a fan into a quarter of a circle; they are said to be often from 12 to 16 inches long, & delicious when cooked. One of those taken was cooked but as politeness assigned it to the lady passenger I did not taste it.

A ship was visible at a distance this PM.

[Nov.] 10 Monday. Yesterday sea rough & I felt somewhat unwell. The Sabbath passed as usual as quietly as could be expected, especially considering the characters & habits of our company. Three ships passed us in the course of the forenoon bound probably for Europe. One of these showed the British flag, which was answered from our ship by running up the stars and stripes. This morning another vessel passed.

The only professor of religion on board so far as I have ascertained is Mr Parsons the Mate. He belongs to a respectable & pious family in Maine & made a profession of religion when a lad. Soon afterwards he went to sea as a sailor in one of his fathers vessels where his attachment to religion was put to a severe test. During the voyage he was subjected to the scoffs & jeers of his companions, not one of whom had any respect for religion. One wicked fellow went even so far as to attempt to flog him on account of his piety. He took with him a

number of religious books such as [Richard] Baxter's S[ain]ts [Everlasting] Rest [London, 1649], Doddridge's Rise & Progress [of Religion in the Soul, London, 1745] &c &c, which in the course of the voyage fell into the hands of the crew & on the return passage from China he had the satisfaction of finding that the truth had not failed of its effect. The most hardened of his companions, the one who had attempted to whip him, came to him one day with a serious countenance & said, "Parsons I know I have abused you & am very sorry for it. I have been reading those books of yours, & I want to know what to do to save my soul," & before they reached home he with 3 others became hopefully pious. The man who came to him first was a German & possessed of a good education; afterwards he left the sea, translated the book which had been the means of his conversion (Dodd[ridge's] R[ise] & Prog) into his own language & had it published after his return to Europe. I record this as a specimen of what religious books, seconded by the example & prayers of a solitary professor of religion may be made instrumental of accomplishing on board a ship. [The translation, entitled: *Anfang und Fortgang der wahren Gottseligkeit in der menschlichen Seele*, was published in New York, 1851, but without the name of the translator.]

15 Nov. Saturday. So much water was obtained last night that an allowance is made of it for washing & this morn the deck presents a busy scene, all hands, from the Capt down to Jack having turned washermen & gone to scrubbing out their dirty linnen etc. The day is calm & the sun shining hot from a clear sky, & the ship's rigging is plentifully adorned with the diversity of garments hung out to dry. Several sharks have been playing about the ship this morn, but the skill of our shark catchers on board has not enabled them to take any.

[Nov.] 16. Sunday. A large ship passed very near early in the morn. The sab. passed as usual; distinguished from other days by greater quiet & by all hands being better dressed, but in other respects with most on board, very

much the same—The Bible or serious books being seen in the hands of very few.

[Nov.] 24. Monday. This is our 54th day from N. Y. an unusually long passage to the Equator which we pass to day. The weather is moderate & has been ever since we left N.Y.—The Ther[mometer] ranging during the last month from 76 to 83°—generally from 77° to 80°, varying usually not more than 1 or 2° in the course of the day.

Nov 29 Saturday. This week a fine breeze from the S.E. has given us a good push on our voyage. We are today in Lat 10° 8' S. & Lon. 31° W. The evenings & nights are clearer, & occasionally the stars have appeared in great brilliancy, though scarcely more so than we are accustomed to see them in our climate. The planets Venus Saturn Mars & Jupiter are now all visible in the evening sky & pass not far from the Zenith. The disappearance of the northern constellations & the rising of new stars in the south reminds us that we have passed into another hemisphere. The clouds of Magellan are seen in the south at eve, like brighter patches of the Milky Way. The Cross I have not yet seen as it does not rise till long after midnight.

Monday Dec 1st 1845. The vessel we saw Sat. has kept in sight ever since. Sat. eve she dropped just astern of us & on being spoken proved to be the Brig — from Aberdeen Scotland for Rio Janeiro. Though our ship is a dull sailor we have beaten the brig.

Yesterday Sunday was a beautiful day, fine sky, fine breeze, & the ships company more quiet than usual, most being employed in reading. The quiet however which has prevailed of late has been rather the quiet of nonintercourse than anything else. The passengers present qualities the most discordant imaginable & in consequence a good deal of disagreement exists & some are not on speaking terms. Conversational talent is accordingly at a discount.

Our fare on shipboard is altogether better than I had anticipated from the accounts I had heard of sea life. The ship is well furnished & with articles of the best quality.

We left N Y with a stock of 20 Pigs, 12 dozen fowles, & several dozens of Geese & Ducks. A pig is killed every Sat PM. This furnishes fresh meat for 3 days. Sunday and Monday noons we have 3 courses—1st Pigs head soup, 2^d baked pork, 3^d dessert of plum pudding or apple pie. Wed. cods tongues & sounds with vegetables, & dessert of fritters. Thurs. Chicken pot pie with baked rice pudding. Tues & Friday, 3 courses—1st Bean soup, 2^d Baked pork & beans with vegetables, 3^d dessert of apple pie or fritters. Sat. cods tongues & sounds, & fritters. Boild salt beef is on the table several times a week. For breakfasts we have twice a week fried fresh pork, twice hash or *lob-scouse*, once, Souse, once mackerel, & once ham, with warm bread twice, corn cake twice, & family bread twice, & mush occasionally, vegetables &c. For tea we have bread & butter, more commonly Scotch Toast made of ship bread, cold corned beef &c. &c. Green and Black teas, & at breakfast these or Coffee. These dishes are occasionally varied, so that we live as well as people do on land.

Our breakfast hour is at 8 AM, Dinner at 1 PM, & tea about 6 PM.

At 10 PM to lamp in the cabin & all hands required to be silent.

Our Steward & Cook are well skilled in their business, particularly the Steward; everything is done in the nicest & neatest manner. Both are blacks & have had many years experience in their respective callings on ship board.

Our water is quite tolerable, & as we use tea & coffee at morn & eve, we experience but little inconvenience on account of it.

We are today (Monday 1st) at noon in 15° 1' S. Lat. & 33° 22' W Long, having made just 15° of Lat in one week. The wind has shifted from S.E. to NE b E & we are now under fine headway with the wind aft.

Thursday [Dec. 4th]. The Scotch Brig in sight again with two other vessels at the same time. The weather since Tues has been for the most part clear & pleasant, tho' the wind very light from a northerly quarter. This PM a whale was seen at a distance, dashing the water into

a foam as he alternately threw his head & tail out of water, in his onward progress. At Eve. the sky & clouds in the East were tinged with beautiful colors, such as I never saw before, but resembling the brightly & variously colored clouds in some landscape paintings, & which are frequently criticised as very *unnatural*.

Monday Dec 15. For several days past have had head winds & bad weather, with sudden squalls from S & S.W., the air being raw & chilly tho the Ther. in the region of 70°.

On the Sabbath the weather unpleasant & sea rough. Spent it by myself in reading & contemplation; feel very sensibly the want of Christian friends—there are almost none on board with [whom] on religious subjects I can find sympathy. I trust however this want of communion with Xⁿ [Christian] friends will lead me to appreciate more fully & prize more highly the privilege of communion with Him who is present in all places & at all times.

Sat. Dec. 20. For 3 days past the weather has been mild & pleasant with favorable winds. The evening sky very brilliant. The Southern Cross, a beautiful Constellation in 60° S Declination, is now above the horizon all night, & has just begun to be visible at its lower meridian passage. The weather the early part of the week was exceedingly unsettled, squalls occurring often during the day & night.

Monday Dec 22. Yesterday an *albatross* was seen for the first time flying near the ship. Its body was white with black wings. Today another was seen.

Tues. Dec 23. Violent wind all day & rough sea. Squalls in PM & eve. At 6 PM a whirlwind or waterspout passed very near the ship creating some apprehension.

Friday Dec 26. Wind blowing a gale all day from NW. Cold & uncomfortable.

Sunday [Dec.] 28. Very pleasant. Eve. water beautifully phosphorescent, the waves all over its surface, far as vision extended seeming crested with light, & where disturbed by the motion of the ship exceedingly brilliant.

A bucketfull stirred by the hand sparkled like a cat's back or any electric [substance] when subjected to friction. The light from the sea very much diminished the natural darkness of the night.

Mon. [Dec.] 29. No wind. Sea nearly motionless. Chilly & rainy. Engaged in writing a rhyming letter. Some beautiful seaweed called sea-ribbon found floating & taken on board, the stem at the junction of the leaves covered with Barnacles.

Wed Dec 31. This morn. hundreds of Albatrosses & Duck flying & swimming about the [ship] & thousands visible all over the sea to windward. In a short time they disappeared. During the P.M. several whales were seen spouting in our vicinity & great numbers of Porpoises were shooting about 4 or 5 of which were speared but lost before getting them on board; one however was taken about 6 feet long & 1 in Diameter, skin beautifully smooth & colored <shaded> with black & white, snout pointed. Some [of] it fried was not unpalatable eating.

About sunset a French ship overtook & passed us.

Thursday Jan 1, 1846. The most gorgeous sunrise I ever beheld, the fleecy clouds tinged with purple orange & gold it is impossible adequately to describe.

At 8 AM we were boarded by the bark *Ann Maria* a whaler 7 months out from Fall River. There was great activity at first among the passengers to get letters ready, but when it was ascertained that she would not perhaps return to the US under a year or two the alacrity ceased. After breakfasting & obtaining our latest papers from the U.S. & giving us a spear for porpoises, the Captain of the bark left us. While 7 months out he had taken but one whale. He now goes to look up the whales we saw yesterday.

Friday Jan 2. Weather beautiful but scarcely any wind. This morning two Albatross' were taken with hooks baited with pork. They are noble birds. One measures 11 ft from tip to tip & $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft as he hangs up from tail to beak. The head is about 9 or 10 inches including bill & the bill 7 inches, $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 of it curved of flinty hardness.

The breast belly & under part of the wings are white & the upper parts mottled or pied with black, the mottling of the neck & forepart of the back being exceedingly beautiful, the hinder part nearly black. The other one measures 10 ft from tip to tip. The gripe of the bill is very powerful as I had experience on my arm, thro' coat & flannels.

Saturday Jan 3, 1846. Lat 46° S. Lon 59° W. A violent gale, commencing about 6 AM & lasting till Sunday PM, the heaviest of it between 11 PM & 3 AM, when it blew a perfect hurrican; the wind was exceeding violent at times also thro' the eve, & till next morning. The Captain who has been some 20 yrs at sea says he has never more than once or twice if ever experienced a more violent gale. The Barom began to fall Sat morn from 29.10 till eve when it stood at 28.64 & continued there till it began to rise about 3 next morn. The wind at first was East N E whence it gradually hauled to E & E S E when blowing hardest & finally to about S.E. The ship lay to during the gale & rode it out in good style. There was much danger of the sea sweeping the deck & many of the passengers were somewhat alarmed, & few obtained much sleep. As for myself contrary to my anticipations I slept nearly as soundly as usual, being awakened once or twice by the violent roaring of the storm, or by being knocked against the side of my berth.

During the gale one of the hands fell from the yard & was only prevented from falling over board by catching hold of a loose rope by which he was drawn in. The iron hook of the chain supporting the main yard also gave way, but the damage was easily repaired. Much water was driven on board, chiefly however by the dipping of the Leeward side of the ship; some of it came into the Cabin to the damage of books, papers, &c. No one can have any adequate idea of a storm at sea & of the violence of the wind & the mountain size of the billows without practical experience of the reality. One of our infidels was so frightened that his wife remarked that the beating of his heart fairly shook the berth. All of them manifested

much more alarm than the others. It rained all day Saturday & was very raw & chilly the Ther. being about 50°. Sunday was clear, but the wind was cold, & the sea high & the ship rolling very uncomfortably. It was so stormy yesterday that the pig's life was reprieved for the present; ½ a dozen of the geese died during the night & one of them was served for dinner instead of the usual pig. The sea was so rough that but few were at table, most of the passengers keeping their berths.

Wed & Thursday Jan 7th & 8th 1846. Lat 49° S. Lon. 63° W. A *Gale* more fearful than the last. Wed. morn. the Bar. was falling & the wind strong from NW. or WNW & preparations were made for a storm. But at noon the Bar. rose again & the wind fell almost to a calm by 4 P.M. The Bar. however again began to fall & the wind sprung up from SW increasing in strength till it was blowing a gale at 8 PM the Bar. standing at 28.53. It soon went down to 28.50 (at which point it had stood in the forenoon) & remained nearly stationary till after midnight, oscillating a few hundredth's from the motion of the ship or some other cause. From 9 PM till 10 AM Thurs. the wind was blowing a violent gale, & in occasional gusts with the force of a hurrican. The Sea presented a wild & terrific appearance, running almost literally "mountains" high, & apparently threatening to overwhelm the ship. Several times these billows dashed on board filling the deck with water, forcing it into the cabin & flooding the leeward staterooms. I was in my berth about 10 P.M. when a sea struck the ship; instantly it came dashing into the cabin with such violence as to be thrown the whole length of it, & I found myself wet in my berth as with a shower bath. Several times during the night the water dashed in in this manner, some of it coming thro' chinks in the sky-light when the sea forced itself over the top of the cabin. In the morning the water in my room was some inches deep & rushing noisily about with the violent motion of the vessel. My trunk I had placed on supports, & it was but little wet. Another trunk I had taken the precaution to put below. About 4 AM. the quarter Boat which

hung on davits within arms length of my stateroom window I heard dashed from its fastenings & carried away, & in it some Albatross & other bones which I was attempting to preserve. Other seas in the course of Thurs AM knocked off the figure head from the bow, a part of bow & lee gangway railing, upset some of the water casks & came near carrying away the whole deck load. The deck at one time was full of water & a hole in the bulwark had to be cut with an axe to let it off. The same sea, which came coaming down upon the ship like a mountain precipice, dashed its spray over the maintop sail (60 or 70 ft high) & even the topgallant sail was found afterwards encrusted with salt from the spray thrown upon it. The steerage passengers all went below. In the Cabin there was but little sleep. The noise of the wind & sea & the danger were too great to allow of it. A heaving sea boarding the ship would almost certainly have knocked the Cabin to splinters, & there was great hazard of our shipping such a sea at any moment. By the Good Providence of God however we were saved from such a disaster. Tho' the wind perhaps did not blow harder than in the gale of Sat. yet the peril was very much greater owing to the greater violence of the sea. Our Captain remarks that if our ship had not been a remarkably good sea boat she could not have stood it through. The Bar. before dawn of Thurs began to rise slowly, & this gave encouragement that the heaviest of the gale was over. Tho' the wind however abated the latter part of Thurs PM the sea continued high all day, And it was not till afternoon that we could be considered out of danger. When the gale was beginning to abate it was painful to see some of our infidel passengers make forced attempts to be merry, while their whole appearance showed that in reality their feelings were far otherwise. Thurs. morn. we took in our hands (most of us in our berths) a cup of coffee & a cracker for breakfast, it being impossible to cook anything—indeed there was momentary danger of the cooking galley being washed away. Our dinner also was made of cold beef & bread with a few sardines. Some of the pas-

sengers dined on preserved meats & soups which one of them had brought from N.Y. Thurs eve most of the passengers were in bed by sunset (7^h50) to make up for loss of sleep last night. The weather during the gale was cold, the Ther. in the air probably being not far from 45°. Sky mostly clear.

Friday Jan 9th. Examined my trunk & found it had got but little wet, only a shirt & few bosoms being damaged at all. The mates room was more filled with water than mine & his trunks much damaged. Some books got injured by taking an unseasonable ablution. None of mine however tried the experiment.

The weather is getting to be uncomfortably cold, & as we have no fire at all I am obliged to clothe myself very thick with woolens. The bed being the most comfortable place one can find I am tempted to keep it from an early hour in the eve till a late one in the morn. The sun however does not set now till 8 oclock, and early in the eve means 9 or 10. I get up since it has become so cold not till 7 AM or an hour or ½ hour before breakfast.

This forenoon from 10 to 11½ a very bright halo was seen around the sun, the prismatic colors being at times as bright as in an ordinary rainbow. There were some scattered cirrus clouds in the sky, but generally it was clear; these clouds were mostly in the neighborhood of the sun & part of the circle seemed projected on them & part on the clear sky—the most brilliant portions of it were at times on clear sky. The Radius as measured with a quadrant was between 20°30' & 22°40', the middle being about 22°05' or 22°10' from the sun's center. The inner hue was the red, the outer violet.

Saturday. Jan 10th. Not much harmony among the passengers. Two of them had a falling out today, a sort of a cock fight, pulling ears, hair &c. Some disturbance turns up almost daily. A fine illustration of want of early discipline & self-control.

Monday [Jan. 12th]. We are now passing the Falkland Islands, not distinctly in sight, tho' the Capt. thinks he saw land for a short time. Sky cloudy. Our wind since

yesterday has been fair & we are approaching Staten Land. Air very chilly & damp.

Tues. [Jan. 13th]. Made Staten land distant some 30 miles or so, S.W. at noon. The weather in the AM thick & rainy. The fog clearing off land was visible at midday. Ther. on deck 45°. Air damp & very uncomfortable. No fire. Albatross taken.

Wednesday. Jan 14th 1846. Cape St Johns, the easter[n] point of Staten land in full view, bearing at noon SW b S distant about 27 miles, which verifies our chronometer, our reckoning giving the same dist[ance]. The Cape is high & mountainous & with a glass snow is visible about its summit. Many Albatross', Penguins, Cape Pigeons, stormy petrels, silver petrels &c &c about the ship. A Penguin was sporting very near the ship now swimming a long distance under water, then rising & sporting on the surface. His prevailing color is a dark brown with a singularly shaped head & bill. His wings are very short & he cannot rise in the air. With a spyglass I had a good view of him. The Cape Pigeon is a beautiful bird, mottled or pied & somewhat resembling a partridge.

Thurs. Jan 15. No wind, clear sky & warm sun, very pleasant to the feeling, especially as contrasted with some of the chilly weather we have experienced, & also as entirely unexpected this being the reputed region of cold & storms.

Friday, [Jan.] 16. Fog, mist, rain & cold, & very unpleasant. Since yesterday calm & have made no headway. Lat 55°52' Lon. 64°06'. Ther. 45° on deck.

Sat. [Jan.] 17. A calm, wind last night & this morn. S & S.W. very chilling. Ther on deck 40°, at 4 AM. Cape Pigeon caught, a little larger than the domestic pigeon. In self defense has the power of spitting or vomiting from his mouth a quantity of reddish liquid matter resembling thick paint, or mud.

Tues [Jan.] 20th. Yesterday and today have been squally, misty, rainy, cold & unpleasant—good specimens I imagine of Cape Horn weather. We are making very slow advances on our voyage. About noon today a whaler

passed us within hailing distance, though owing to the roughness of the weather no hailing took place except by signal. She reported her Longitude 66° . Ours by dead reckoning is $64^{\circ} 45'$. We have had no observation today, & can make no allowance for current. The ship was the "*Statira*" of "New Bedford." The weather is very uncomfortable today, all the passengers shut up in the cabin, spending much of the time in bed in order to keep warm. I find it necessary to clothe myself in 2 pairs of drawers (woolen & cotton) woolen pants, 2 flannels, shirt, cotton wrapper, 2 vests, & overcoat, with 3 pairs of socks! The thermometer in the Cabin stands at about 45° , but having no fire & the atmosphere being very damp we find it difficult to keep warm.

Thurs. [Jan.] 22. The same weather yesterday and today except that this PM the sun shows itself & the air feels somewhat drier. Our winds are all westerly & the sky almost continually overcast. The Ther. in the air today 41° . Temperature of the water 37° (in Lat 60° South).

A large whale (the "*Right*" whale) some 20 or 25 ft in length appeared playing for some time around & under the ship in full view. The sun sets tonight at $8^h 32^m$. At 10 PM it is broad day light, as much so as at half an hour after sunset in our Latitude at home. The twilight continues all night, and at midnight it is light enough to see to read, the sun at that time being but 9° below the horizon.

[Jan.] 31. Sat. Two days past fair breeze from SW & we are gradually getting to the Northward.

Monday 2^d February 1846. Yesterday a calm, nearly clear, & pleasant, more so than for a fortnight previous, occasional fogs & mists. A ship visible all day beyond the offing, the same as seen yesterday on the other or star-board quarter, steering apparently the same course we are. Also a humpback whale about the ship. To-day fine breeze, but foggy & chilly. Capt. broke my thermometer.

Thursday Feb 5th, 1846. Lat. $51^{\circ} 14'$. Lon. $82^{\circ} 10'$. Have a fine breeze & a prospect of getting out of these un-

pleasant latitudes soon, the last two days cloudy misty & disagreeable. Have been writing this forenoon to friends in the U.S. in order to have letters in readiness to forward from Valparaiso. Flock of wild geese seen.

Mon. Feb. 9th. For 3 days past have had a fine fair breeze & been getting towards Valparaiso as fast as our dull vessel w'd carry us. Saturday *night* was unclouded & pleasant, the first clear night we have had since passing Staten Land. Our days also have been uniformly cloudy & misty for the same time. We have not had anything like a fair day for more than 3 weeks. We are now getting into milder weather & find ourselves much more comfortable, tho' the extreme dampness is still very disagreeable. Yesterday, read a Sermon in Cabin.

Wednesday, [Feb.] 11th Lat. 39° 15'. Lon. 79° 29' W. Weather mild, sea smooth, & fine breezes from the southward.

The ship begins to wear the appearance of getting toward port, boats put in readiness, painting & scraping done, clothes got out, boots &c &c. Looked into my cash matters, find I now have with me in Gold \$50. Silver \$64.63. Total \$114.63.

Sat. [Feb.] 14th, 1846. From Thurs Eve. till this morn we have had a strong SE wind amounting at times & especially yesterday PM & last night to a *gale*. As the ship was sailing in the trough of the sea, the spray frequently dashed over her, the sea being quite high. The Barom fell from 29.48 yesterday Morn. to 29.33 last Eve; this morn it is 29.13 (7 AM), having fallen 2 tenths in the night. We are now (7 AM) by estimate only about 80 miles from land & expect to see it soon.

Sun. [Feb.] 15th Lat 34° 16'. Lon. 72° 58' W. Sky hazy & cloudy. Land seen about 2 PM distant some 30 miles, the view very indistinct. An immense whale seen near the ship. Eve. clouds passed off, no wind, sky extremely clear & stars brilliant.

Tues. [Feb.] 17th. Lat 33° 21'. Lon 72° 7' W. Yesterday & to day nearly calm, light breeze during the night. Weather clear & pleasant. Ther. about 65° & 69°. Are by

estimates this noon 34 miles from Valp[araiso] which will make 12,265 nautical miles from N.Y.

At Sunset arrived within 12 miles of Valp[araiso] & stood off & on through the night; passed 2 miles from point.

Wed. morn Feb 18th where we were last eve. With fine breeze went into the harbor & cast anchor this morn, about 9 AM. Land high. Beautiful sunrise.

Wed. Feb. 18th 1846. Rose this morning at 5 to see the sun rise "over the Alps." The hills in the vicinity of Valp^o. are very high (some 2000 ft) & the shore steep. The Andes proper are not in sight at all from our position 5 miles from the land, & the sunrise was by no means as splendid as it has been represented by some voyagers, tho the morning was bright & the sky clear. The view of the hills was indeed beautiful in the boldness of its outlines, but the attractiveness of the scene was much diminished by the parched & sterile appearance of the whole prospect. A few trees & a little scattered herbage alone relieved the barren aspect of the country. The signal staff on the hill back of the town was presented in fine distinctness against the morning sky. Also the Light house on the point N.W. of the town. The moment the sun appeared above the hills the whole landscape was obscured by a dull haze. A fresh breeze springing up we were soon rounding the point of land which forms the harbor, tho' in doing it, from the sudden failure of the breeze, we were in great danger of running upon the rocks; at one moment our position was critical, but a favorable puff just swung the ship clear of them & we soon came to anchor in outer part of the harbor, about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the landing. Breakfast was deferred till after the ship came to anchor & sails were all furled, 10 AM. At the same time the Captain of the Port, & Captain of the Custom house officers boarded us & took the ship's manifests, descriptions of passengers &c &c. Many other boats visited us from the vessels in the harbor & hotels &c in town. The Captain & some of the passengers went ashore with Capt Walsh an Am[erican] merchant here of Capt S[palding]'s ac-

quaintance. As for myself I was obliged to wait till my trunk & chest were got from the after & main hatches. Putting myself in shore rig, I landed in the boat about 1 PM & commenced my survey of this to me very singular city. Within 5 minutes after stepping on shore I met at the P.O. Rev D Trumbull who arrived here some two months since under the direction of the Foreign Evang[elical] Soc[iety]. To see an old acquaintance in a strange land & after a 140 days voyage was indeed a gratification. I went with him to his room, & was there introduced to Mr Wheelwright, who teaches a school & resides in the upper part of the city.

Took a walk on the hill some 200 feet high where most of the Americans & English reside & had a most magnificent view of the harbor & ocean & mts to the northward. The City is built on the sides & at the base of the hills which surround the harbor. The houses mostly of 1 story, & stuck into the ravines which separate the hills & into the sides of the hills & such a way as to make one wonder how they resist the natural effects of gravitation. The weather is hot & summerlike & there having been no rain for months the ground is baked & the air full of dust. The way washing is done by groups of women around rocky pools at the bottom of almost dry rivulets, in a scanty supply of water which serves scores of companies of washers in succession, is a striking exemplification of what perseverance may accomplish with the smallest means. The houses of the poor exhibit the appearance of anything but neatness or comfort.

Thurs. Feb 19th 1846. This morn. after breakfast went ashore. At the Post-Office met O E Carter a col[lege] classmate, who is with Mr Barton making observations in reference to the survey of a Rail Road from this to Santiago. Mr B[arton] is a clergyman from Chickopee Mass. & was obliged to quit preaching by Bronchitis. Finds the climate here too arid & dusty.

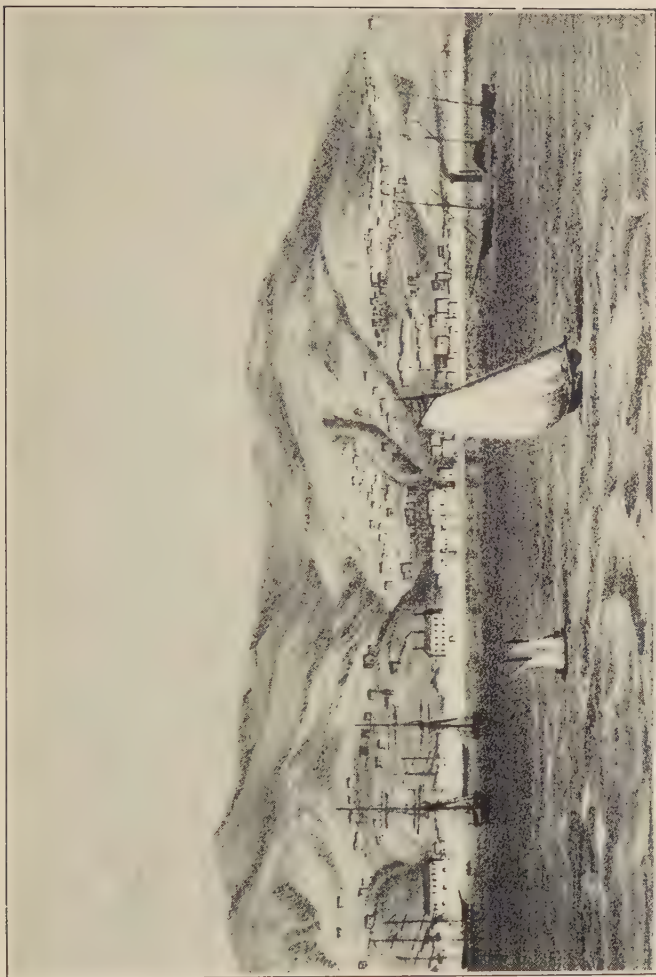
Was introduced by Capt. Walsh to the Merchant's reading room, which is a very spacious, airy room, overlooking the harbor & furnished with a great variety of papers,

among them the leading ones of the U.S. & England. Found Eng[lish] papers down to Nov 1st. The room is adorned with a number of paintings, maps, &c &c. Among them a piece of needle work, some 12 by 18 inches, by the pupils of a French school, containing many figures wrought in silk, & exhibiting actual portraits, &c.

Took a stroll, to the Fort. Great numbers of Brass & iron Cannon of all lengths from 3 to 12 or 15 ft. Most of the larger ones have distinct names given them, such [as] El Furioso (1772) El Rayo (1772) El Destruído (do) El Relámpago (1776) El Marte (1772) &c &c. Many also bore the ins[criptio]n "Viola te fulmina Regis," & many of them purported to have been made in Lima. Saw some of the troops, white pants blue coats.

PM took a walk to the Almendral, the extreme east end of the town some 2 or 2½ miles from the "Port." Begin to understand how the place may contain 50,000 people, from the number of houses & the manner in which they appear to be crammed. Sit mostly on the floor, few conveniences, much filth, dogs & fleas numberless. Stepped into a large house, now building. Carpenter American from Mass. in 1826. Says carpenters do as well now as then. Jour[neyman]'s wages 2.50 per day. Stock and living not half as high. Says the harbor is filling up, mentions that where he built houses a few years ago there had been an apparent rise of land of 6 or 8 ft. The [that] where the front street now is he had been in swimming. Thinks it has nothing to do with Earthquakes but caused by wash from hills.

Saw some beautiful gardens in the Almendral. Lemon trees full of fruit, &c &c. Saw Prisoners chained two & two conducted by Guard. Observe every where in the streets the "Vigilantes" or Policemen on horseback. Amusing scene near Hotel de Chile, street blocked with Carts & Carriages, Officer on horseback in great flurry, loud vociferations, some time before he could clear the way, whipped a man's horses &c &c. The Carts are clumsy things, most with double felloes, piniond together, no tires, ungreated, bodies rude wickerd. Others like those



VALPARAISO IN THE '40'S

in U.S. Passenger carriages somewhat like our old fashioned Gigs, 2 wheeler, 2 horses, one mounted by postillion. Drive like Jehu. Met twice the family (4 ladies with 2 gents,) of Admiral Seymour (British) riding out horseback, blue dresses, beautiful.

Took tea at Mr Wheelwrights. Mrs W[heelwright] daughter of Dr Dana of Newburyport, agreeable; tea served around. Mr Harding painter present. Came in *Bombay* 105 days from Boston, was out in the same gales of Jan. that we were. Complained of the Capt. Thayer of the ship as to fare, accommodations &c, lived poorly, had misunderstandings—this seems to be the case on all long voyages.

Spent the Eve very pleasantly at Mr W[heelwright]s; his house is far back on the Hill, where most of the Eng[lish] & Am[erican]s reside, some 300 ft high, tedious climbing. The hills back of Valp[araiso] are stated to be 1500 ft. Testimony of Mr & Mrs W[heelwright] confirms Mr Cheever's statement in his letters of the lying propensity of the Chilian, taught it from Childhood, by nurses, parents &c &c. Consider it a "*very little thing*," flows from the Papal distinction of mortal & *venial* sins. Mr W[heelwright] thinks it a sign of improvement that in his school a dispute arose among the scholars whether it was a greater sin to lie or not to attend mass, & while most of the children who had been only under the influence of parents &c said that not *going to mass* was, those who had come under protestant influences took the other side. Mrs. W[heelwright] says it is customary for ladies even of the higher ranks to sit on the floor. She called on one who had married an Am[erica]n & found her thus seated, no chair being in the room—this was daughter of a high officer. Mr W[heelwright] finds the prospect of a school discouraging. An English Lady has set up opposition. Living high here—Milk 25 cts qt. Butter 50 cts. lb. meat 6 cts. fruit generally about as at home. Returned with Mr Trumbull & slept in his room, in the building where Mr W[heelwright] has his school. Appearance of the town & harbor by night from the hill beautiful. At ten heard the

vigilantes crying the hour, little like music, some good voices, some poor. Wilkes's musical "Notes" humbug; Am[erican]s here dont think much of Wilkes. [Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838 . . . 1842*, vol. 1. Philadelphia, 1845, pp. 168-169: The police "carry a loud and shrill whistle, the sounds of which are varied as occasion requires, and by it a concentration of force can be effected in a few moments. . . . When they cry the hour they all sing the same tune, but the pitch is ranged in accordance with the scope of the voice. . . ."]

Frid. Feb 20th. Breakfasted with Mr Wheelwright at his school-room. Read at Mr Trumbull's room afterwards, saw among his books an old Dict^y entitled "A New General English Dictionary, peculiarly calculated for the use & improvement of such as are unacquainted with the learned languages &c &c. Originally begun by the Reverend Mr Thomas Dyche, Schoolmaster at Stratford-le-bow, author of &c &c, & now finished by William Pardon gent. 11th Ed. London 1760." On a flyleaf is written, "W^m William's Book bot at N. Haven xb^r [December] year 1762 of M^r Benedict Arnold—(afterwards the infamous traitor)." Mr Williams was one of the signers of the Decl[aratio]n of Ind[ependenc]e.

To show how *literally* Arnold "used & improved" s[ai]d Dict'y I copy the following Definition—"Traitor or Traytor(s) one who is false to his prince or country, one that informs the public's Enemy of something advantageous to them & hurtful to his prince or country."—

Went with Mr Trumbull to the U. S. Consul's office. Mr Dorr cousin of Gov D. of R. I. affable & gentlemanly. Spent an hour, talked of matters & things in general. He says nearly all the natives have more or less indian blood, none pure indian, every kind of mixture & variety of color—African, Indian, Spanish &c. The generality of the natives wanting in enterprise, corrupt in morals. Attributable mainly to their Religion. Opposed to improvement, superstitious, priesthood corrupt & licentious. A bishop in Peru lived a very licentious life, finally took

a paramour from a convent, this so open as to oblige him to leave Peru, came here bringing the nun with him, publicly known, yet the priesthood here pay him all customary respect & reverence. Many convents here, ½ dozen churches & priests. The Irish priest [Robert Walsh] who made so much disturbance at the Sand[wich] Isl^s is here. Mr Dorr says the people are little benefitted by free form of gov^t. not prepared for it, tho free in form it is in fact an oligarchy. Feudal, few large landholders contest all the elections &c &c, their tenants at their bidding, little general intelligence. Mr D[orr] says the only way to improve the nation is to break down the Cath[oli]c Rel[igio]n.

As to the climate, Mr D[orr] says that the insensible perspiration is generally obstructed, very little passes from the body in that form. Colds common. Principal diseases Chronic Dysenteries, Rheumatism, & Heart affections. There are also fevers. Very difficult to know of what diseases people die from the public reports owing to their want of discrimination, the classification loose & unscientific, & when they are at a loss about the cause of death it is put down as (interiora) something "internal."

Visited the Protestant Burying Ground on the hill. Enclosed by wall, level, square, two walks cross it at right angles; small enclosures each large enough for one grave are formed by bricks set edgewise; the walks or avenues & the borders are adorned with shrubbery & vines, peach trees, roses beautiful, handsome bower. Tablets mostly wood, painted white, some marble, some horizontal monuments & 2 or 3 of these embowered with vines & roses. A large proportion of those buried here are English. Among many ordinary epitaphs are some that do little credit to the taste, talents or religion of the writers, e.g. on mon[umen]t of Isaac Tickell of H M Ship *President* 1841—

Shipmates all my cruise is up
 My body's moored at rest,
 My soul is where? aloft of course
 Rejoicing with the blest.

The Commodore short warning gave
 For me to anchor ship,
 My moorings hard & fast are laid
 Till signal's made to nip.

On W^m Arnott H B M Ship *Basilisk*

Far from his home W^m Arnott came
 His life to end on the boisterous main,
 His shipmates fond who revered his name
 Erects this tablett to his mortal frame,
 Tho' far from friends & kindred dear
 His shipmates drop a grateful tear
 And leave this mark at his place of rest
 In hopes his soul is now at rest.

Near the Prot[estant] Ground is that of the Catholics, laid out in fine taste. Monuments & tablets mostly of marble, many of wood. The most striking a splendid one of Italian marble covering the heart of Diego Portales a distinguished patriot & minister of state.

In each burying ground is a "chap[el]" or small house where the corpse is deposited after midnight & the funeral is attended next morning, a law of the state prohibiting the carrying of a dead body through the streets till after midnight.

[Feb.] 21. Sat. Rose very hoarse & not very well, cloudy & misty. 10 AM went ashore. Met Mr O. Ellsworth, engaged in erecting flouring mills at Tabalango 25 m out towards San Felipe. He has dissolved partnership with Messrs Meeks & Taylor in the Brewing business, 2 stories to the case, rumors of dishonesty &c. The standard [of] commercial & general morals here is certainly much lower than at home. Foreigners very apt to lower their standard. Mr Foster a Unitarian here of high standing for character gives it as his opinion that the standard of morals among the foreign residents generally is lower than among the natives. Many Americans of high character. The chief Am[erican] Families are those of Capt Walsh, Capt. Scott, Mr Wheelwright, Mr Riley, Mr Hobson (these two, firm of Alsop & Co) Mr Steph. H

Smith, Dr Page of Phil^a. Mr Meeks, A. Ward, H V Ward (Bach^{lor}) (Bowen & Atherton) There are somewhere about 150 Am[erican]s in all.

In an office saw pamphlet describing Bryant's copy of Reubens Descent from the Cross, which Mr Ellsworth brought out for exhibition & sale. Reminded me of home where I saw it while Bryant was painting it. Although half invalid from cold accepted urgent invitation to dine at Mr Wheelwrights; no one present but myself, social, agreeable time, fine dinner,—Soup, Beef, potatoes, onions, squash, tomatoes, beans, pudding pies (grape) melons, peaches, coffee. Din[n]er hour 4 PM, spent 1½ at table. Prospect from Mr W[heelwright]s house beautiful. Returned on board about sunset. In open lot adjoining Mr W[heelwright]s an encampment of countrymen, 4 or 5 large thatch covered rude carts one like a small house covered with shingles & framed, in which families have come from the country.

The beasts of burden are Bonicoes or Donkeys; bricks, stones, fire wood, &c &c lashed to a thick cushion over the animals back & driven in droves like cattle, 4 to 6 bricks 2 ft by 1 & 4 or 5 inches thick on each beast.

[Feb.] 22 Sunday. Rose hoarser & more unwell than yesterday, yet felt it impossible not to attend Divine service, it has been so long since I have had that privilege. Went ashore soon after breakfast, saw Messrs Carter & Barton, went with Mr Trumbull & others on board the British Bark *Conrad* under an awning on the deck of which Mr T[rumbull] has his service to day; 25 in all present, among them Capt Thayer, mate & some men of the *Bombay* from Boston, A Russian Capt &c &c. Had singing. A fine sermon from text—"Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." Applied to the classes of Cold X^{ns} [Christians], Presumptuous X^{ns}, Moderate Sinners, Immoderate Sinners & grossly wicked. Went on board at 2 P.M. Fish for tea, fine, caught in the harbor in abundance. Shop's on shore mostly closed as in N.Y. Much riding. Boatmen in crowds. Much noise in harbor

from Carpenter work on board several ships, equal to week days.

Last eve Capt maudlin.

Mon Feb 23^d Rose with cold about as yesterday. After breakfast went ashore, stopped by Customhouse officer to examine a bundle which I had containing a shirt. Saw Mr Barton. He thinks the climate very bad for throat complaints, is to start for the US in a month & then for Eng[land] on the Railroad business. Read Lyell's travels &c [Sir Charles Lyell, *Travels in North America*, London, 1845] at Trumbull's room. 12 oclock started on a walk with Mr T[rumbull] up to hills back of Valp[araiso] to find Mr Carter & the RR surveyors, whom we were told were some 2 or 3 miles out. We went to the top of the highest hill some 2½ or 3 miles from the town but saw no tent or surveyors; passed several dykes of felspar & other of quartz. The rocks chiefly a sort of sienite, saw 12 or 15 different wild flowers, some pretty, cacti numerous & large, & various in species. Cut many reeds for canes. Little vegetation. Shrubs small. Some grass in the bottoms of ravines. Returned by a rout west of the road on which we went up, & next to the Signal Staff, crossed a very deep ravine, much scratchd by brambles, banks precipitous, at the bottom some water-grass, & a small plot of corn, stalks about 3 ft high. Plucked an ear, just large enough for succotash, ear short large & kernels very small; sucked it & found it very milky & refreshing after walking so far in the hot unclouded sun, tho' the fresh breeze from the S. rendered the last part of our walk more comfortable than the first part. From the summit of the hill had fine prospect of the plains & hills beyond & of some peaks of the distant Cordilleras, one of them high & snow capped. The view of the harbor & ocean grand, counted 57 vessels in the harbor, but one or two habitations in sight to the E & South. In returning just before entering the town passed a large enclosure, roofed or thatched with wicker work under which tiles are manufactured; the tiles are nearly ½ segments of a cylinder or slightly tapering trunkated cone, and are about 18 in

long 8 or 10 in diam & $\frac{1}{2}$ thick. Most of the houses of the better sort are covered with them. Farther down passed a brick manufactory, where sundried bricks are made; they are of various sizes, some 2 ft by 1, & 5 in thick, others 2 ft long 6 inches square, with notch in each end to fit the timbers or studs of houses between which they are laid in building houses of the better class. Drank from a rill of water at the bottom of the valley & found it good. Dined with Mr Trumbull. After dinner called on the consul at his house, found him reading the B. F. Butler correspondence. There is to be a steamer here from Eng[land] in 2 or 3 weeks to run from Callao to Panama, thus making a continuous steam route from Valp[araiso] to U.S. Fare some \$500. Eng[land] must have some object besides benevolence in expending so much on these routes.

Mr Dorr says he has heard it stated on good authority (an Am lady resident there) that at Conception & that vicinity, at a certain time of the year there is observed a peculiar & offensive stench arising from the water of the ocean, cause unknown, to be inquired into. Mr D[orr] been here $2\frac{1}{2}$ yrs. Mentions decision in courts in case of Adultery under the old feudal law which has long since been disused in Spain for ages by which both parties were given up to the disposal of the injured man with the condition that he was not *to take the life* of the one without taking that of the other also.

Case of casuistry Mr Robinson (Eng) had married under Catholic form a native woman who proved unfaithful to him. By law here there is no divorce (marriage being a sacrament). Afterward he finds a woman with whom he lives as his wife happily & has large family, tho' not legally married. Query?

Wed [Feb.] 25th Hard cold still. Forenoon at Mr T[rumbull]'s room finishing letters for home, which I leave for him to send by first ship. At noon was just on the point of making a call or two, when meeting Capt T[hompson] I learned that the ship was to sail today instead of tomorrow as I had previously understood. So

foregoing the calls & taking a hasty adieu of Mr Wheelright, Mr Trumbull &c I hurried on board. Have had a delightful visit here & should have enjoyed it much better had I been in better health. Mr Trumbull a noble fellow & devoted to his Master's work. Very warm today, no wind. About 3 PM a light wind springing up anchor was weighed, all hands working hard. Just then the wind shifted to Northward & the anchor was let go again. An hour afterward a breath coming from the South the same operation was repeated. So we were obliged to lie by till another day. Mr T[rumbull] on board at 3, gave me 6 shirts.

Thurs [Feb.] 26. 4 AM anchor again drawn up & let go again, a northerly wind springing up & blowing directly into the harbor. Last eve took 3 blue pills, soaked feet & sweat profusely. To day keep in, cold some better. No communication with shore. At 5 PM wind shifting southerly anchor was again weighed, but immediately let go, the wind shifting back. About midnight we were notified by the guard boat that the ship was adrift. We had in fact drifted a mile or more without its being discovered by the watch on deck. There was no wind but a strong current out of the harbor. Chain was run out nearly 80 fathoms & ship brought up. Capt. all the Afternoon in a "bad fix," Disputatious, silly.

[Feb.] 27 Frid. At 4 AM men again commenced heaving up the anchor, which kept them hard at work some 3 or 4 hours; this time succeeded in getting to sea. Wind very light. Cloudy & misty morn.

Of the passengers Messrs Lippmann Ernstal & Cox have left, & Capt. Johnson of Sydney N.H. has taken passage for the Islands. I understand he started from Sidney with a cargo for England but here was entrapped & defrauded out of his cargo by firm of Meeks &c & is now on his way back. Mr Cox & Capt did not part on pleasant terms, Mr C[ox] having some weeks since attempted to gag him on the subject of slavery. Mr C[ox] dissatisfied with Mr Benson also. My stop at Valparaiso

has cost me but little my purse being minus but 75 cts, most of it for boat hire.

Mr Ernstal remains here taking Daguerrotypes. Mr Lippman goes in the *Bombay* Capt. Thayer to Manilla. Mr Cox remains here a month or so & returns to the U.S by way of Panama. Capt Thompson goes on, has lived on shore while in port, steamed hard, came on board half seas over, next day stupid & unwell, no control over himself, pity. Lippman "*rushing* it" at balls &c &c, turns out to be a corn doctor, which none on board but his partner E[rnstal] knew of till he arrived here. Ernstal brought out 12 gold watches on which he clears \$500.—Am glad to go to sea again to get rid of *dust & fleas*, & I hope of my cold also. Our living on Ship board appears to have been better than the average. The passengers of the *Bombay* complain bitterly. Say Capt. Thayer prays 3 times a day & gives them nothing to eat.

At Valparaiso have seen but little of the natives. Generally dressy. Females said to carry all they are worth on their backs, shawls often worth 15 or 25 dols, personally dirty. Much smoking. Not particularly intemperate. Have seen but 2 or 3 drunken men, those all Eng. or Am^s. Passing a dram shop, heard a poor wretch begging for "Gr-Gr-Grog"—in plain English.

Murders not so common as formerly but occasionally take place. Man executed (shot) some 3 or 4 weeks ago, had been banished on false charge bro't against him of theft &c, returned in disguise of woman went to house of his enemy, stabbed him, also shot his brother at the gate, then delivered himself up, having obtained revenge, great crowd at execution, undaunted, long speech.

Sat Feb 28. Cloudy & misty this morn, have advanced but a few miles from Valp[araiso]. Reading [John] Bonnycastle's "*Spanish America*" [London, 1818].

Many whales near Valp^o. Several I saw just within the harbor, 2 or 3 kinds of fish were also abundant. They seem to come in with ships. Many boats of fishermen were constantly around our ship & they caught large quantities. Said they were not to be taken elsewhere. One kind called

Brim excellent for table larger than Shad, others somewhat smaller but very good. Baited with small fish called Sardinias.

Streets of Valp° swept by prisoners chained together & guarded by soldiers; at noon saw them lying in shade to rest, some asleep, some playing cards. Before a door saw woman looking a man's head [over?].

Principal street paved with pebbles, stone side walk on one side, sometimes on both, narrow, no railing.

Horses of the Chilenos fine, & excellently broken, caught when wild with lasso, mounted by bold rider, run till fall, then docile. Saw spurs some 3 in in diameter, enormous.

Sun. March 1st 1846. Still cloudy, foggy & nearly a calm. Have advanced but a few miles from Valp°. Distributed some tracts on Infidelity, Universalism &c. Universalism & Unitarianism seem to have close affinities. The Xⁿ [Christian] Register (Unitⁿ) [published at Boston, Mass.] claims Universalists, & Univst preachers write for the paper. Found on deck the other day a paper containing a sort of Creed, one art[icle] of which professed a belief in the "final salvation of all men," another that men are sinners, & either *here or* hereafter punished for their sins. It was dated at Sea Feb 6, 1846, & signed by Capt^s son (J.C.S[palding]) & purported to be the result of an examination of the New Testament. Many whales (sperm & others) visible about the ship.

Mon. [Mar.] 2^d Have made but 40 miles in 4 days. Might as well have staid & attended church at Valp°.

A ship in sight, probably the Eng[lish] man of war which was to sail for Callao about the time we did.

New supply of Books from Capt Thompson's chest which had been down the main hatch. Several vols. London Lancet, Lib[rar]y of Ent[ertaining] Knowledge &c &c. Decided improvement on the "Yellow Backs." Some No^s Xⁿ [Christian] Examiner [published at London]. Enough Unitarian for the Capt. to debate upon the rest of the voyage.

Tues. [Mar.] 3^d The weather very different from what

I had expected. Have scarcely had a glimpse of the sun since leaving Valp^o.

The New Hand (a Hamburger) whom we shipped at Valp^o says he has been on this coast 2 weeks at a time without seeing sun or star. Damp & uncomfortable. Am nearly over my cold.

Great change in the aspect of things on ship board from the passage out, more harmony, less talk & noise, certainly a good exchange as to passengers.

Wed. [Mar.] 4. Long talk with Mr Haley on Infidelity Morals &c. He holds that man is not to blame for gratifying his natural appetites & propensities, e.g. has disposition to steal, if he does so at the time, under temptation he is justifiable, but an hour afterwards, on reflection w'd see that he was wrong. Holds to no future state, & other absurdities of infidelity. His principles so far as he has any allow no possible foundation for morals, or accountability. Capt Johnson mentioned a man a bold infidel who was with him on shipboard in New Holland when an attack was made & who in the hour of danger was found in the boat on his knees praying.

Mr Haley who was so frightened during the gale of Jan 3^d denies that it had any reference to death or a future state, but that he was thinking of his mother &c. Says that when young he was brought up to say his prayers by his mother &c & was also told many ghost stories & other fictions, which he soon learned to disbelieve & that this is the source of his infidelity in religion!—because ghost stories are untrue, *therefore* Revelation is! Fine logic.

Thurs [Mar.] 5th. Lat 28°.58' S L 74°.15'. Read a good article in the Xⁿ Examiner (Jan 1844) on Christianity by E. S. G(annet) admits depravity, necessity of Atonement &c &c. The truth is, the written Theology of Leading Unit^{ns} is of a much higher order & nearer orthodox than the *oral* or practical theology of most professed Unit^{ns}. For professed Unit^{ns} are of every grade from Universalism up to orthodoxy. This AM, in passing through the Cabin, was stopped by the Captⁿ & bored with the reading

of a long article from the Xⁿ Examiner on the Unitⁿ ideas of Atonement &c, with heavy blows at a man of straw labeled orthodoxy. Mem. Those who call themselves liberal X^{ns} [Christians] are more *illiberal* & bigotted than any others I know of.

The same cloudy, damp weather yet. The sun looked dimly through the clouds at noon, just sufficient to give an observation for the Lat & Long.

Black fish & other sorts in abundance.

Frid. [Mar.] 6th. Weather milder today, & most of the PM the sky was nearly unclouded. The sight was very refreshing after so much cloudy weather; this is the first time the sun has shone out clear since we left Valp^o. Writing today. A large bird nearly white with a singularly pointed tail flying about called the Boatswain. Shed my old Sat[ine]t Pants, gave them to the Cook, & donned another coat & pants. Mostly calm today.

Sun [Mar.] 8. Bright & beautiful day, but nearly a calm. Read in Xⁿ Examiner for 1844 an article on "Norton on the Gospels" giving an interesting & clear account of the Gnostics & their tenets, also another on the evidences of X^{nity} [Christianity], a review of [John Gorham] Palefreys Lectures [*Lowell Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity*, Boston, 1843], good, overthrows Hume's arg[umen]t from experience by showing *belief* is not based on exp[erience] but is nat[ural] to man, disbelief being rather the result of experience &c &c. Some conversation at table on religious topics, marred as usual by the jokes of Infidelity, encouraged by the quasi-infidelity of Unitarianism.

Mon. [Mar.] 9th Practicing economy today i.e. transforming an old coat into a cap! Tho' called a Taylorite, tailoring is new business & how I shall succeed the sequel will tell.

Read this eve a Review of Prescotts [History of the] Conquest of Mexico. Cortez not justifiable in conquering so civilized a people. It is doubtful whether any balance of good has sprung from the act to justify the enormity of it. Catholicism as developed both in Spanish N & S

Americas is hardly a better handmaid of Civilization or of humanity than Paganism itself. Had the Anglo Saxon race settled these Countries how different w'd have been their aspect & destiny.

Tues [Mar.] 10th. Not very well, eat little today. Reading, making cap &c.

Pretty little comedy acted. Mr H[aley] & his wife quarreled be[cause] she picked over raisins for the steward. Much noise was made in their room & this being reported soon grew, three-black-crow-like, into a sort of Murder story which Mr H[aley] tracing back found to have begun with himself. In his thoughtless excitement he abused every body & played the tempest in a teapot to admiration. At length by gentle talking to he was finally cooled down, & had administered to him many wholesome lessons on manners, morals, conjugal proprieties &c &c by which it is hoped he may profit.

Took the trades yesterday in Lat 27° Lon 75°. Brig astern all day. New Dish for tea recently called "Pomme de Terre de Maitre d Hotel," a cold hash of beef, potatoes, & onions, with sweet oil &c.

[Mar.] 16. Mon. (13°32'—76°48') Land in sight all day some 30^m off. Island of San Gallan much nearer. Towards sunset distant Mts. appeared very high. At noon we were about 85^m from Callao.

17. Tues. March 1846 San Lorenzo seen at a distance from aloft. Back to leeward, calm. Shark killed with harpoon by Capt Johnson, 7 or 8 ft long. Another Shark taken, 8 ft 9ⁱⁿ long, pect[ora]l fins 21ⁱⁿ. Blue on back. Sucker attached, 6 in long. Under forepart of his body an oval apparatus 1½ in long for "suction" by which he attaches himself to any object with great force. Several Pilot fish also accompanied the Shark. A Sword Fish also came around but c'd not be taken. PM another Shark, the 3^d.

Island of Callao & San Lorenzo right ahead. At 2 PM saw Lima with glass, beautiful view, stretching a great distance with numerous domes & turrets, orchards &c &c.

The Coast appears arid & barren like that of Chili, rather low, with high mts in the back ground.

Isl^d of Callao, rocky & barren, shows an apparent ancient sea bench in a step or in jutting of it tho' this is not horizontal, most distinct on left hand side.

San Lorenzo 5^m long, red, sandy rocky & barren, steep. Passed 2 or 4 miles from the W. side about 4 PM. Some places steep & show stratification very distinctly. Towards S. end barren rocks, white, covered with innumerable birds, also Isl of Callao. Between Isl^{ds} & mainland Castle of Callao hove in sight & part of the town soon passed behind San Lorenzo, Lima ditto. Clouds on top of Lorenzo north part. Ships visible with glass in the Roadstead between Lorenzo & Callao Isl. I heard the British royal salute of 21 guns. What for, cant say—

At the N end of Lorenzo the stratification beautifully conspicuous, some red, other strata whitish, many dark beds like slate, all dipping 25° or 30° S. W. At 5½ rounded the N End & came in sight of Callao, the bay, shipping, high Mts. &c. Sun ½ hour high, beautiful view.

Eve. our vessel working in. Callao well lighted. Bil crying the soundings "Ay! ho! &c &c deep 16— 15— 14— 13— Dropped anchor in 13 fathoms about 2½ miles from Callao.

[Mar.] 18. Wed. Morn. dense fog in harbor nothing visible, cleared up at 9. Breeze sprung up weighed anchor at 10¼ & worked in.

Boarding officer came off at 8. Dark complexion creole, pitted with Small pox.

Capt S[palding] went ashore with him taking his shipping papers &c to go to Lima.

Birds innumerable, large & small flying in every direction, over the town & harbor diving for fish &c &c &c.

While working in, taking a glass I read distinctly in large open English on the walls of an extensive building "*Ten pin alley*," a significant sign, to be the first readable on entering port this side the world. Beat in within a mile of the landing place & dropped anchor at 1 PM.

Custom house officer came on board & left port regula-

tions in 4 languages. 2 market boats came along side with Apples, peaches, figs, bananas, grapes &c &c. Tried the Grapes & Bananas & found them good.

Soon after anchoring an officer boarded us & ordered the ship to be moved a little so as to be in a line with other ships.

At 3 Pm went ashore with Capt Johnson, Josiah S[palding] & Mr Haley. Landed at a large & fine mole, well built & neat. Near the landing place noticed great quantities of tallow in Skin bags. Wheat in immense heaps in the open air, machinery castings, &c &c. Callao at first view altogether better in appearance than I had anticipated, principal streets paved with pebbles, houses well built, neater appearance of business. Took a walk through some of the principal streets. Met Capt S[palding] just returned in the Omnibus from Lima. Introduced by him to the Vice Consul Mr Johnson Ship Chandler, found that news from U.S. had been rec'd to Jan 26th. Nothing of public importance transpired. Saw Bennets Weekly Herald to Nov 1st.

Walked with Capt S[palding] &c to the Market place, a large square open, &c. Not being now market hours, nothing was to be seen but a few fruit stands. Tried some fresh figs, not so good as dried ones, 8 for ½ rial. Pine apples 25 cts Bananas 12 for Rial, &c &c. Went to Marine Hotel, fine establishment. Took soda water, prepared in bottles let out by stop cock, no syrup, poor stuff. Went back to Mr Johnsons, looked over the papers. Officers in the store marking weights & measures, an ingenious mode of Gov^t sponging; they did not try the weights &c at all, but affixed their stamp as they were, so superficially on cast iron weights as to be rubbed off with the finger, charge 25 cents each, Mr Johnson's bill over 4 dollars. This the first time.

Found that the *Mississippi* Capt. Harvey has gone down the Coast after Guanos & is to be here in two weeks, bound for home direct. 2 American Ships are here. The *Childe Harold*, & Brig *Canada* from China. The *Troy*, in

which was Mr Guatier, for whom I had letters, went home some months ago.

Returned on board at 5 PM.

[Mar.] 19 Thurs. Went ashore at 9 AM, walked again to the Market place, a large square, but again too late, nothing doing. Visited a chapel, not large, no seats, many images of Virgin Mary, the Savior, Saints &c. The Savior in the garden, a wax figure with half a dozen silver daggers pointing to his heart &c. Jesus wearing the Crown of thorns another piece, & other over the altar of the same sort, all to take the eye. Holy water on each side, confessional boxes &c &c. It being St Joseph's Day, the shops are all closed & business suspended.

11 AM took seat in an omnibus for Lima, fare 1.00. Omnibus good, & like those in N.Y. The office a very pleasant one, with sofas &c. The Driver black, a slave; slavery yet existing here, tho' in a process of gradual extinction. Started off at a Jehu rate, over a fine road the first mile paved with pebbles. It is nearly straight & apparently level all the way to Lima, tho' it actually rises, Lima being according to Capt. Wilkes 420 feet higher than the water [*Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition*, vol. 1, Philadelphia, 1845, p. 233]. After driving a mile or two a rein broke & the omnibus was brought short round, but the damage was soon mended & on we went again, over a very dusty & bad road, a Yankee road surveyor being very much needed to smooth off the inequalities. 1½ miles from Callao passed the ruins of Bella Vista a walled town which grew up after the destruction of Callao & must have been a place of considerable size. It was destroyed in 1825 when it was occupied by the army of Bolivar. The walls show the effects of the shot from the Castle 1½ miles distant. A passenger in the coach pointed out a place where he saw a man killed by such a shot in the street opposite one of the gateways. The Burying ground with its green willows is the only thing beautiful, especially contrasted with the ruins.

A little farther on is a small chapel connected with a farm. The fences dividing the fields & farms are very

numerous & run in every direction. They are made of large bricks or blocks of mud 2 or more feet thick & about 3 high by 4 long. They are laid together closely & must originally have been constructed with great labor & expense. At present, from their resemblance to portions of the walls of houses or of towns they give the country a ruined & desolate appearance, especially in connection with their state of dilapidation & the parched & barren aspect of much of the soil. The soil however is naturally excellent & by enterprise & irrigation this might be made a perfect garden. 2/3 of the way to Lima on the right are several large naked mounds built by the aborigines & used for burying. At a place a few miles north similar mounds have been opened & money to quite an amount taken from them. Mr Foster of Lima was engaged with others in digging into one, but obtained only skeletons. These on the road to Lima have not I believe been explored. They are very large & have been stated to be 150 ft high, but this estimate seems too large. From the road they appear like simple hills of earth & are somewhat irregular in form. They present little or no appearance of walls or brick. The surface of the earth around them is apparently level. On the left are also other ruins—walls, mounds &c relics of the same race. Indeed I was told that many of the walls or landmarks of the farms are likewise their work.

A mile before reaching the City we come to a paved street again, & a beautiful avenue is formed by rows on each side of a sort of willow or poplar. Seats of brick plastered are also built at intervals to accommodate parties who walk or ride out from the City. Lima is a walled town & we entered by a beautiful arched gateway, white, tho' of cheap material & washed in imitation of marble. My first impression of the City was rather that of disappointment, the houses being of but one story with flat roofs & dirty irregular looking walls, & it being also St Josephs day & on that acc't the shops all closed, & apparently little business going on.

I should have mentioned a Convent & shanty for the

sale of fruit liquor &c midway between C[allao] & L[ima]. The Steeple of the Convent was partly shaken down by a recent shock of an earthquake. At the shanty were several individuals male & female, some on horses & some on mules. A Padre also who took something & was quietly smoking his segar while chatting carelessly with those around. On the road we met mules laden with all sorts of freight—hay, wood, vegetables, fruit &c &c. Women riding astride, dressed in a man's hat &c. Some of the men were on Spanish saddles, high before & behind with large wooden block stirrups & breeching around the horse behind.

As we approached Lima there were more cultivated fields, & the large fields of Yuca (a long root edible and used for making starch) plantains, oranges &c &c were very refreshing to the eye. We were set down in Lima about 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM. Went with the Capt's son [J. C. Spalding] to Mr Foster's of the house of Alsop & Co. Met Capt Harvey there to whom I had a letter from Mr Trumbull, but which I had left on board ship—all the same for I found him very gentlemanly & a warmhearted Xⁿ [Christian]. Was invited by Mr F[oster] to dine. Walked out with Capt H[arvey] over the Rimac which runs thro' the City to the beautiful portion of the City called the Alameda, where are many long & delightful avenues, shaded with rows of willows, furnished with brick seats, & ornamented with fine fountains. One of these avenues extends along the River & is very refreshing, from the cool breeze always blowing from the mountains. The river is rapid & tho' now low is at times very high. Where it is crossed by the Bridge of Pizarro it has a fall of several feet, & has a striking appearance. Near the bridge close by which is a large flouring mill. The Stream is a grand one for manufacturing purposes. The ground[s] in a part of the Alameda belong to the Church & are ornamented with groves, gardens, walls painted in fresco, &c &c. There is here also a Convent & hospital. Close to this part of the City are high barren hills or mountains many of their peaks terminated by a cross.

Returned in season for dinner at 4 P.M. Mr F[oster] a bachelor, no ladies at table, only Mr F[oster], Capt Harvey, his Clerk, & another gentleman connected with the house, which is one of the wealthiest in Lima. Had a fine dinner & a delightful visit. Mr F[oster] a frank, unaffected, intelligent gentleman. Dinner—soup, beef steak, fish, roast beef, fowls with rice, fried plantain, sweet potatoes & several other dishes with desert of fruits, peaches grapes & sweetmeats, peaches & grapes excellent. Wine on the table but none but Mr F[oster] & another partook.

Went to Moin's [Morin's?] "Warm Bath Hotel" & engaged room. Hotel on corner of Plaza. Fine accommodations, best in Lima, room carpeted, two apartments, sofa, excellent bed, iron bedstead & washstand, &c &c. Charge 75 cts a day. The Plaza or public square the principal attraction, on two sides the Portales, or Arcades, 500 ft, pavement small pebbles with vertebral bones inlaid in various figures, made 1799. Over the pavement a sort of piazza on columns, inside shops or recesses filled with various goods, & outside & between the Columns shelves & stands for goods jewelry &c &c with lace workers, stands for iced drinks &c &c. On another side is the palace, its entrance guarded by Soldiers; the whole front is occupied by shops or sta[n]ds for the sale of various wares. On the remaining side is the Cathedral & Bishop's Palace, an immensely large & much celebrated building, but exceedingly tasteless in its ornaments, images, ungraceful carvings & mouldings &c. In the Center of the Square is a fine brazen fountain, surrounded by a chain between posts of inverted Cannon. There are to be seen numerous laborers with their mules filling water casks, one of which is held in a frame on each side of the saddle & the man himself jumps up behind. The fountain was created 1600. The rest of the square is open & with no shade trees. In a walk with Capt H[arvey] after dinner to the Alameda saw the Gateway of the Naval School with the blocks on top of the side pillars broken & turned partly round by the shocks of an earthquake. Returning met the Governor

or Mayor of the City walking out & as Capt H[arvey] said, keeping a lookout on the gambling establishments & vices of the place, which he is exerting his power or influence to suppress.

Before reaching my hotel had an opportunity to witness that very impressive observance the "Oracion." At the tolling of the bells a little after sunset or about dusk all the inhabitants instantly stop, uncover their heads, & stand a few moments rendering silent thanks to God for the mercies of the day—at least this is the design of the custom. Arrived at my lodgings about 7 tired & warm. The rooms at this hotel some 16 or 20 ft high, airy, & well ventilated by high windows.

Lima, 1846.

Frid. March 20, 1846. Rose at 7. Heavy fog or mist at times a drizzle so as to wet the pavement. Breakfast at coffee house. Beef steak 18¾ cts. Went to the Cathedral. Met Capt T[hompson] &c there; he had distributed 21½ dollars among the priests & attendants. I was beset by the same, the only Spanish word I c'd understand was one often repeated to me by these beggars "moneta." Money they are unscrupulously eager to get tho' there is no regular charge for visitors. The part of the Cathedral containing the great altar is elevated several ft above the floor. The ornaments present abundance of carving & gilding & to an eye fond of glitter & tawdriness may seem splendid. The altar is s[ai]d to be of silver, & the high columns of it were said to have been formerly of the same but were melted down in revolutionary times & replaced by plated ones. The walls are covered with paintings & images of the virgin &c &c. In niches or alcoves on the right & left within gratings are other pictures & altar pieces, chiefly of Scripture or legendary subjects. In one room on each side were carvings in wood of apostles & saints, with the name & a motto over head, many paintings, & other objects of Catholic worship. In a room adjoining this is a series of pictures of the Archbishops &c &c. The Virgin Mary everywhere. One



LIMA IN THE '40'S

piece in which some venerable person is represented as kneeling & kissing the infants feet. Some branch of worship seemed to be going on at the great Altar, chanting, singing &c &c. Near by is a large case with the doors thrown open containing "relics of the Saints" I asked thro' my Companion What relics? But could only get for answer that they were "relics." The most prominent objects were pictures & images of the Virgin & Saints, with some small articles in glass cases, which were beyond my comprehension.

They pretend to show the bones of Pizarro, but the price of a sight being 1.00 my curiosity did not rise sufficiently high to overcome my love of money.

A young man from N. Y. a few years ago broke off one of Pizarro's toes & carried away the relic undetected. The attendants, even to the little boys are dressed in a sort of loose gown, generally black, fitting close about the waist. The dress of the different orders of monks is different, some blue, some white, some grey. Their hats equally diverse, some with brim 3 ft wide rolled up at the sides, other bare headed, seemingly a jovial, thoughtless rowdy set. The[y] found out from my companion that I was a prot[estan]t clergyman, seemed to be suspicious, acted trickish; gave them 25 cts. The north part of the Cathedral less attractive, showed by a black boy into a room where was an urn to which he pointed & talked to me much in Spanish, but all I c'd understand was "Moneta." I afterwards learned that this was professedly a charity urn for the poor.

Went with Capt Harvey this AM to Mr Chamberlains an American, who in connection with a Peruvian is putting up machinery for manufacturing silk, which they are about introducing into the country. The species of Mulberry they use is the *Morus Multicaulis*. He is also putting up a bathing establishment. Has a steam engine & other machinery.

The shops around the square are all open today & present a very different aspect from what they did yesterday. At one of the stands for iced drinks saw a priest

take a glass & before drinking, made the Sign of the Cross on the Surface of the liquid twice with the stirring stick & then sipped. The Sign of the Cross is every where. Standing on one side of the Plaza 2 dozen may be counted without reckoning those on the dresses of the priests & elsewhere.

Dined at same coffee house on a mutton chop & sallad—31 cts. Went to see the Museum at some distance from the square. Had just begun to look & noticed a portrait of Columbus [This portrait of Columbus was exhibited at the Columbus Exposition, Chicago, 1893.] & a series of 45 portraits of the Spanish viceroys commencing with Pizarro, suits of specimens in Natural History Geology &c, with Indian relics idols of silver gold &c, when the hour came for closing & I was obliged to leave off.

At the stage office saw a young lady, the prettiest I have seen, with her mother & brother.

Introduced by Capt H[arvey] to Messrs Watson & Brown Tailors & Americans. One of our passengers had tried to pass himself here for the Capt of the *Mariposa* in order to get a suit of clothes. But did not succeed. Mr W[atson] knew him at Valparaiso as a very bad man. Not long after he “cozened” a fellow Englishman out of \$8.00, & has shown himself fully worthy of the place he hails from Sydney, N. S. W.

Learnt from Mr Brown some traits of the Peruvians. Licentiousness unbounded. Morality hardly known. Priests all have women. One of high rank who passed the door was pointed out as having a “woman” & family, & was now living with another woman. When talked with they justify their conduct by saying they are but men & did not make the regulations of celibacy. They are a vain, light, trifling set of men with very few honorable exceptions. One bishop is mentioned as having had 90 children. But this gross corruption of X^{nty} [Christianity] seems to be losing its hold upon the minds of the people.

At 5½ walked with Capt H[arvey] to the Alameda, delightful. Paused on returning at the time of Oracion or evening prayers. Went with Capt H[arvey] to tea at Mr

Fosters & spent the eve. Tea at 7½ no formality, simple cup of tea & nothing else. Much interesting relig[iou]s conversation with Capt H[arvey]. His experience, converted by instrumentality in part of a religious pamphlet given him by a friend who was himself not pious. He carries his religion into all his life. Strict on board his ship, has no gambling, drinking, song singing or anything of the sort.

Took omnibus for Callao at 2. British minister in it. Fine looking man, of about 45, in white hat, white vest with gilt buttons & white pants & blue coat. Says he has no apprehensions of war with U.S.

Went aboard. Began a letter to Father to send by Capt Harvey overland.

Mon. Mar. 23^d Went ashore at 4 & took a stroll across the point from the Castle to the South beach; followed the beach nearly to the W point & returned by the N Beach, passing over the ruins of the old city of Callao. Marks of these ruins are visible over all this neck of land most of which is very low & covered with pebbles, as if washed by a surf. The beach around consists of a ridge of pebbles many feet high, in fact on the S. side there appears to be a double beach one several feet above the other, unless it be where the surf washes in high seas at the present time. It is s[ai]d that the old city extended beyond the point to a rock called the Whale's back between the p[oin]t & San Lorenzo, the sinking of the earth converting this into a roadstead. It is usually stated in the common acc[oun]ts of the earthquake that of a population of 4000 only 200 escaped. But Mr Howell of the Golden Bull Hotel says it contained 46,000, that there are 6 or 7000 in Callao now. But I doubt his being good authority. Fragments of walls, arched vaults of churches, pavements &c &c are still visible. These vaults are filled with human bones, & the same are to be seen almost everywhere among the ruins; they are s[ai]d to have been put there for the most part in the Revolution of 1825 & 6, tho' others say that bodies are deposited there at the present time. Near the point are some light houses of reeds out of which a great dog came

yelping at me but gave me no further trouble. Gathered a few pebbles & shells but none of value.

The surf breaks heavily on the south beach, rushing up several rods. The pebbles are mostly of trap or trachyte with porphyry, amygdaloid &c. The old fort is in a good state of preservation, the walls & ditch being entire & many other parts of the structure apparently but little injured by the earthquake. The foundation of it is now even with or below the level of the water. The rags of clothing belonging to bodies that have been buried or left on these grounds are scattered about & render it a disgusting place.

Tues. 24th March Went ashore at 9½. Rambled up the beach towards the mouth of the Rimac. The outskirts of Callao filthy. A great many wolfish looking dogs. Fishermen on the beach drying & repairing their nets. Women bathing with skirt on below the waist. Beach pebbly, went nearly to the River, farms & farmhouses just back from the shore, fields of plantains &c immense foliage, pinched some large yellow flowers from a shrub, suppose it to be cotton from the ball containing what appeared to be that article, some fine shades of willows; followed a path across some of the farms, thro' a grove where at a little pond of water a dozen women were washing clothes some of them half naked. Saw a man ploughing with 1 yoke of oxen, his plough with 1 straight handle long enough for the beam; the whole seemed to be rude & chiefly of wood. The fences around some of the fields were of canes set perpendicularly & lashed together some 6 or 8 feet high. A light kind of house or enclosure is made in the same way. The soil here seems to be a rich loam, in some places clayey, & is evidently fertile. Irrigation is necessary. Near the road to Lima passed a large company of Soldiers engaged in washing clothes in a ditch. The officers were lying idle, some women among them. Went to the cross nearly out to Bella Vista on the road to Lima, a square mud pedestal whitewashed with a cross on top, marking the place of the Spanish Frigate driven inland by the wave which destroyed old Callao. It must be about 1 mile

from the water inland. Got back to Callao about 12, & went on board in the boat.

It is said that one reason why so many live together without marriage is on acc't of the expense of the ceremony, the priests so contriving it as in various ways to make the sum run up to perhaps 100 or 150 dollars.

Wed Mar 25th. Went on board the British War Steamer "*Cormorant*," & looked all over it—2, 10 ft long guns 42 pounders, fore & aft, two broadside 68 pounders, 2, 42 lb mortars, & some smaller Brass pieces 6 lb^s. Complement 145 men. Ship 225 ft long 35 or 40 wide. Paddle wheels 17½ feet diam. 2 single engines & 4 boilers runs from 6 to 8 knots per hour. Afterwards went ashore. Another holiday & no business done, shops nearly all shut. Staid an hour & returned to the ship.

Mr Parsons the Mate very kindly made me a present of a pair of summer pants.

[Mar.] 26. Thurs. Went ashore at 3 & staid till 6, rambled thro' the Castle. In one wing of it the Prison containing the robbers, murderers &c of the Country. Some English & American sailors there, some for desertion & some for other crimes. The Castle is s[ai]d to be able to contain 10,000 men; it is now chiefly occupied for the business of the Customhouse. A large number of Cannon are mounted on the ramparts. Spoke to a Sentinel & got scolded in Spanish by an officer; none the wiser. A large number of guns are now mounted on the walls, though Wilkes remarks that when he was here they had been all removed but 4. ["Only five of its beautiful guns remain," Wilkes, *Narrative*, vol. 1, p. 234.] They have since been replaced.

The various dwellings & apartments inside the fortress seem to be occupied by offices soldiers &c. Under a large shed, men were at work building boats. Many soldiers are seen about the fortress & elsewhere in Callao. Small squads with a band of music may be seen marching thro' the streets at any hour of the day. Their uniform is usually white pants & roundabout, with a cylindrical cap.

The prisoners seem to be mostly kept at work sweeping,

& repairing streets & doing other work with soldiers enough keeping guard to do the work themselves.

The best Hotel at Callao is the Marine Hotel. A cheaper one & in fact equally good for all practical purposes is the Golden Bull by David Howell, who speaks English & is I believe an Englishman. Fire wood is sold here by the pound; a billet, 6 inches in diam or so costs 6 cts—it is very scarce & very dear.

Capt Thompson came to borrow of Capt S[palding] 34 dols. in addition to the 34 he borrowed the other day, to foot his bills at Lima. Oh the folly & sin of drinking!

The old fort west of the Castle Mr Johnson says was blown up in 1839 at the same time another fort a little north of it was. It had nothing to do with the great earthquake, as is commonly represented. Mr J[ohnson] thinks the present pop[ulatio]n of Callao 15,000, & of Lima 45,000.

[Mar.] 27. Friday. Went ashore at 9 & took a ramble to the ruins of Bellavista 2 miles on the road to Lima. No inhabitants, ruins of houses, mound of considerable height, walls. Two circular shafts or wells, some 10 or 12 feet in diameter, with openings below. Part of a kind of tower or castle, circular, steps outside, 10 or 15 feet in diameter, hollow, two entrances below one into one story & another by a descending way below that. Before reaching Bella Vista passed a sort [of] village, large square establishment enclosed with high walls, main entrance guarded by soldiers. In one corner a public school as I gathered from an inscription over the door & from hearing the voices of children reading & spelling within. Passed through a gateway into the grounds of a large farm apparently, pleas[an]t house & garden; wandered over it, & over the ruins of Bellavista which are East of it & the walls of which seem to embrace this establishment.

Passing a plantain or Banana field I plucked one of the flower bulbs, purple, & conical some 2 inches in diam, & 4 long, consisting of leaves folded on each other. Under each leaf were the rudiments of the future Bananas in clusters or layers of 14 each & I counted nearly 40 layers,

so that I ignorantly destroyed over 500 *Bananas*. I also came across a lime tree & picked up some half ripe ones under it, plucked some fine roses also, & saw large fields of sweet potatoes. The tops are a vine lying on the ground, spreading to some distance, & having a heartshaped leaf; noticed many willows & other trees whose names I did not know. These grounds are irrigated by water but in ditches.

Just at dinner time the visitors came on board officials whose duty it is to see that all the articles on the ships manifest are on board & nothing smuggled. It seems however to be a mere matter of form for they took some bread & cheese & cider & left the ship without even glancing an eye into the hold or at any part of the cargo.

This AM the U.S. frigate *Congress* came in, looks finely at a distance. Has on board Judge [Joel] Turrill & Mr Ten Eyke [A. Ten Eyck] Consul & Superintendent at the S[andwich] Islands.

This PM the Ship *Mississippi* also came in, bound for home in a few days.

Sat. March 28th. Last night the colored Cook disappeared baggage & all. He & the steward have been at swords pts for some time. When or how he went no one professes to know. Capt S[palding] has offered \$10. reward.

Through Capt. Spaldings great kindness in paying my passage to Lima & back I made another visit to that city to-day. Took the omnibus at 7 & got to Lima a little after 8. Made the acquaintance of Mr Teneycke who is going out in the *Congress* as U. S. Commissioner to the S[andwich] Islands. He was in the same omnibus for Lima, & appears to be the right sort of man. He took rooms for himself wife & two other ladies at Morins. Com. Stockton & other officers put up at the same house. The same begging Padre at the bar of the half way house—he is accustomed to beg money of passengers; discovering us to be nearly all foreigners he hesitated about approaching the Coach, but soon ventured near, obtaining nothing however for his pains. He carries a picture of the Virgin

which donors if they are good Catholics are expected to kiss. Saturday is peculiarly a Catholic begging day, & in Lima priests & friars were to be seen at ever[y] turn with a contribution box in one hand & a picture of the Virgin or of some saint in the other.

Gave to Capt Harvey a letter to take to the U.S for father. He is to leave on the 14th of April & expects to get to Baltimore the latter part of May.

Visited hastily another of the old & wealthy churches in Lima, could not ascertain its name. On its portal was the date 1838. The internal ornaments are more splendid & showy than those of the Cathedral; there is an immense amount of curious carved work & most of it entirely covered with gilt & tinseley. Images of course were in great profusion. Many devotees were on their knees on the pavements & seemed very devout.

Returned in the two o'clock Omnibus, a dusty ride.

Loitered about Callao till 5 & went on board.

Found Capt Thompson still at Lima, has been on a hard spree. He had run out the 34 dols he borrowed two days ago of Capt Spalding & a score of \$20 besides, making his expenses at Lima in the last 8 or 9 days about 88 or 90 dollars. So much for Drink.

Sunday, Mar. 29, 1846. Should have noted that Friday eve a week ago the mate & 4 hands went ashore, 2 of them John & Bill got drink. Bill seemed like a madman, jumped out of the boat several times, took 1½ hour to get off to the Ship. Called up watch at 12. Bill struck & injured much in the face & eyes a quiet inoffensive hand a German who had turned out to assist. In fact *Liquor* had made him perfectly frantic. During the past week some of the men have contrived to get spirits, & are made by it very disorderly & troublesome. The German hands are much the most temperate. Bill & the Mate had some trouble day before yesterday. Bill asked Capt S[palding] to discharge him. The Capt. refusing he declared he would not work another day, they might put him in irons or do what they pleased with him. The Capt put off the settlement of the difficulty for a day or two Bill being evidently under

the influence of Liquor. He & all the rest when at sea are as orderly & quiet men as could be wished.

The Purser & another officer from the Steamer came on board to do some business with the Capt. & get some books which I sold yesterday—viz [Sir Archibald] Alison's History [of Europe, 1789-1815, Edinburgh 1833-1842] for \$9.00. Naturalists Library 1 vol. for 3. & [Sir Charles] Lyells [Elements of] Geology [1st ed. Lond., 1838, 2d ed., 1841] for 4.00 = \$16—

This Afternoon the Capt's clerk of the *Congress* came on board to see Capt Thompson said clerk (Mr [George] Hyde) being bound for California, as he said to seek his fortune. He is a pleasant young man of 27, & rather visionary seemingly in some of his notions.

This day has not seemed much like a sabbath, there has been so much going on that savors not of the concerns of religion.

Great excitement on board this eve from suspicions that the Steward was designing to run away. A boat came up & was ordered off; soon after it returned again. The Capt gave orders for a strict watch. The two mates watch & all hands were on deck & Capt in cabin. Yet in the midst of all this precaution the Steward got off without detection from the Stern; at first it was supposed he had run away, but his trunk & things being undisturbed it was concluded he had only gone on a spree, especially as he had been ashore in the PM & was under the influence of liquor when he came on board at tea time. It turned out that this was the case, as he reappeared at 5 oclock Monday Morn. The Capt had a loaded pistol by him to be prepared for any more serious disturbance, but had no occasion to use it.

Monday March 30. Saturday the Capt engaged a new cook, a young darkey. Yesterday his bundle came a board. But this morning it was ascertained that he got into a row last night & was now in Calaboose. Accordingly the Capt this morn. has engaged another & he is now on board.

This morn. the ship was towed a little way out where

she c'd more readily get under way this PM. At 3 P M the Capt of the port visited us & at 3½ we got under way, & steered for the Islands. Took some altitudes for the time, but while working them in the Cabin was obliged to leave off by *seasickness*, though the ship had no great motion. Instead of taking tea, emptied my stomach over the ships side. Went to bed at sunset.

Tuesday March 31. Rose at 7, unwell, ate no breakfast, kept my berth nearly all the forenoon, ate no dinner but a few figs & a bit of watermelon, qualmish, lay down most of the P.M. Fine weather & at noon had advanced 102 miles. We have a new Passenger a mate of a ship, who is to work his passage to the Islands; he sleeps in the Steward's room & boards in the Cabin. We have now 6 at the Cabin table viz Capt. Spalding, Mr Parsons, J. C. Spalding, Capt. Thompson, Mr Moran (the new passenger) & myself. I have a state room by myself & am in all respects more pleasantly situated than on the passage out.

Thurs. 2 April. Steward laid aside by the results of his sinful folly & the boy Nicolas takes his place temporarily. Thus for one man's sins not only himself but others suffer. The new cook is but partially acquainted with his business & needs the aid & instructions of the Steward; cant make coffee as well as the old Cook, but is better tempered & willing to learn. Gave him a couple of shirts for which he seemed thankful.

In speaking of the Catholic religion in Chili & Peru Mr Moran mentions that 36 miles from Coquimbo is the shrine or Church of St. Rosa to which he has seen persons in the way of penance making pilgrimages on their knees, their knees being all raw. The image of the Saint they pretend is able to weep, & cannot be removed from its place.

Friday April 3^d 1846. Pleasant sailing. Reading Wilkes description of the Sandwich Islands [*Narrative*, vol. 3, ch. 11, vol. 4, chs. 1-7], very good as to facts & statistics, but as a literary performance discreditable to himself & to the country.

Sat. 4th 1846. Have been out 5 days & come over 600 miles, at the same rate we shall cross the equator in about 12 days. The *Congress* was to have sailed on Thurs (2^d); she will doubtless be at the Islands before us.

Sun. Ap'l 5th Was out this morn. at 4. Stars very brilliant, Venus particularly so, could perceive no Zodiacal Light; went to bed again & slept till 7. Breeze very light, & weather warm, nearly calm.

Reading Wilberforce &c &c. Talk with Capt S[palding] respecting how far a man's religious char[acte]r is affected by narrow mindedness, or want of judgment &c. He seems disposed, like many Unit^{ns}, to make vital religion responsible for a man's intellectual defects or idiosyncracies.

Small whale alongside. P.M. very large schools of porpoises & Blackfish. Eve. very beautiful, moon 9 days old clear, & nearly in the zenith. Air mild & soft. Sat on the rail looking at the sky & then at the water with the moon dancing in it. Thought of friends who might be viewing the same object, grew sentimental,—fine eve for serious contemplation.

Mon. Ap'l 6, 1846. My umbrella, which was purchased new when I left N.Y. & was never wet, proving very rotten as to its cover, I bo't some cloth in Lima (25^{cts} per yd) & have been putting my geometric and sewing skill in requisition to day to cover it anew.

Tues. 7th April. Finished the umbrella got a good fit & saved thus the price of a new article which this side of the world w'd be twice as much as at home.

Wed. Ap'l 8. Not very well today. Reading some Nos of the Sandwich Island "Friend" & "Cascade" for 1845 which Mr Trumbull gave me at Valparaiso. They are very much occupied with Temperance & judging from their representations, that Cause must have made good progress there.

Thurs Ap'l 9th. Reading Cheevers letters &c. Had a long debate with Capt S[palding] on the Atonement which he decries & holds that simple repentance alone is nec[essar]y to reconciliation.

Friday, Ap'l 10th. Reading [Sheldon] Dibbles History of the S[andwich] I^sds [Lahainaluna, 1843] &c. Debate with Capt S[palding] respecting Cheevers Letters, foreigners at Honolulu, influence of Missionaries &c &c. He talks much of liberality, enlarged views etc but forgets the *practice*.

Eve. tried to read [Francis Allyn] Olmsteds visit to S[andwich] I^s, interrupted every five minutes with glorifications of Unitarianism &c &c, could accomplish but little. Delightfull moonlight eve, moon nearly full, sky clear air soft & mild.

Sat. Ap'l 11th 1846. Reading Olmsteds "Incidents of a Whaling voyage" [New York, 1841].

The boy Nicholas (who is now acting Steward during the disability of the regular functionary) has been repeatedly urged by the Capt & myself to devote some of his time to learning to read. I have freely offered to instruct him, but from shame for his backwardness in learning, or for some other reason he neglects to avail himself of the opportunity.

Charming Ev. full moon, sat musing on the ships rail, thought of a thousand things, among them of home friends etc.

Flying fish innumerable.

[Apr.] 13th Mon. Reading [Charles Samuel] Stewarts Residence at the Sandwich Islands [*Private Journal of a voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and residence at the Sandwich Islands, 1822-1825, New York, 1828, and other editions*], &c &c &c.

Wed [Apr.] 15th. Made the greatest run since leaving NY = 189^m, there being 29^m current.

Yesterday I drew up a Temperance pledge, in consequence of a conversation which I had a few evenings ago with "Bill" & others who had got into trouble by intemperance at Valp^o & Callao. I determined to circulate it thro' the Ship. On presenting it to the Capt. he declined on the ground that he had Brandy in his Cargo to dispose of & was obliged in the way of his business to deal in the article, but nevertheless expressed his desire that his son

should sign it. His son refused, but said he would if his father would. Capt T[hompson] declined, saying he had resolved to take nothing stronger than Claret—! W^m Powers & John McArdle (who got so high at Callao) with the Steward (who also had a sad spree there) were glad to pledge themselves to total abstinence. Two or three declined who are yet temperate or drink scarcely at all, & 2 or 3 refused who profess total abstinence.

The Pledge is as follows—

“Fully convinced, in view of the many & great evils resulting from the use of alcoholic drinks both to individuals & communities that total abstinence from them is the duty of all,

“We the Undersigned, do hereby unite in a solemn pledge that we will not use as a beverage any intoxicating liquors & will discountenance the use of them in others.” Signed by

J. S. Parsons

W^m Powers

Jo^s Frost

Jo^s Soost

John C. McArdle

Geo Aug. Borgle

C. S. Lyman

Dan^l Trippit

F Blumer

Tho^s Powell

Carl^s Moran

A very large irregular spot is visible on the sun with the naked eye. It cannot be less than 30 or 40,000 miles in diameter.

Thurs 16. April. Spent the AM in washing clothes, hard & hot work. Not able to eat my figs, they being too laxative, gave then to J C. S[palding].

Reading Stewarts Journal, &c.

Took a bath by standing over the head & pouring water over myself, drawing it up with a bucket, very refreshing. Design to practice thus every other eve or so.

18. Sat. April 1846. Must have crossed the line before sun rise this morn.

Writing sermon today.

Steward again gives out, having tried for a week or so to do his business, & the boy “Nick” takes his place.

Eve. reading Dibble's S[andwich] Ids.

[Apr.] 19. Sun. Reading [John] Flavel's Touchstone [of Sincerity, London, 1698, 2d ed. Boston, Mass., 1818] &c &c. A quiet Sabbath, but how delightful it will be to get once more where the Sabbath may afford the privilege of public worship. This (D.V.) we anticipate in 3 or 4 Sabs more.

Mon. 20th April. This eve saw the North Star about $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ above the horizon. Wrote some rhymes about the matter.

Thurs [May] 7th Lat $19^{\circ} 23'$ N. Lon. $145^{\circ} 0'$ W. Copied from Wilkes a map of the volcanic district of Hawaii, &c &c. [*Map of the part of the Island of Hawaii, Sandwich Islands, shewing the Craters and Eruption of May and June-1840. By the U. S. Ex. Ex. 1841. In Narrative, vol. 4, p. 111.*]

Frid 8th May. Rewriting a sermon. Reading Geology, &c &c. Eve bored with listening to the reading of Xⁿ [Christian] Register & other Unitarian matter.

Sun 10th May 1846 Reading Barne's Notes on Matt[hew], &c &c.

Mon. [May] 11th AM Whale near the ship.

Thurs 14th May 1846 This morn Island of Morokai [Molokai] visible some miles to the Southward. Morn dark & rainy. Also a barque (American) close by us. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM Oahu in sight to the W. N W p[oin]t of Morokai to the S. Lat at noon $20^{\circ} 25'$. Lon $157^{\circ} 19'$. 20^m from E p[oin]t of Oahu.

2 PM. passed old cone crater 2 or 3 miles off, appearance of the Island mountainous & barren.

2 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM. Diamond hill in sight. 2 vessels standing into Honolulu. The beach 4 or 5 miles distant lined with hamlets, small villages, with cocoa nut groves & some patches of green vegetation, high hills just back from beach.

3 $\frac{1}{2}$ passed Diamond hill which is also an old cone crater. Honolulu soon appeared in view, the 3 or 4 vessels in the harbor. The Frigate *Congress* which we left at Callao & which we expected w'd be here before us had

not arrived. The Pilot Capt Meeks came on board when we were about 2 or 3 miles out & at 4 PM we dropped anchor in the outer roads & soon after the Capt went on shore in the pilot boat. We came in with a strong breeze & since yesterday the *Mariposa* has done better than at any time on the passage, having made 230^m since yesterday noon. From the Pilot we learn that the bark which passed us this AM [was] the *Angola* of Salem—from Tahiti. She came from Salem to the Sandwich Is^{ds} in 117 days. Waititi [Waikiki] lies east of Diamond Hill, appears like a pleasant place, large groves of Cocoa nuts. The Natives who came as boatmen for the pilot were fine looking fellows. Packed up my effects & got ready to go ashore tomorrow.

II.

OAHU, MAUI, HAWAII, HILO, AND KILAUEA;

TOUR THROUGH PUNA

MAY 15 TO JULY 15, 1846

II.

Honolulu May 1846

Friday 15th Came ashore after breakfast, called with Capt S[palding] at Mr Greens store, & under the guidance of a native lad proceeded to Rev S[amuel] C[heney] Damon's, Seamen's Chap[lain], to whom I had a letter from Mr Trumbull of Valp[arais]o. Found him just harnessing his horse to go to the General Meeting of the Missionaries at the large Church $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile distant. He is a man prepossessing in appearance, apparently 30 or 35 yrs of age, & received me with a cordial Xⁿ [Christian] welcome & made me at once at home in his family; was introduced to his good lady & her sister & immediately rode with him to the Miss[ionar]y meeting.

The town as to its external appearance is not inviting; the sharp thatched roofs of the houses give it from the sea the aspect of a plain filled with stacks of hay, & on entering it the wall of *adobes* by which the streets are lined & the houses shut in give it a monotonous & uninteresting appearance. The streets are sufficiently broad & the chief annoyance in them is the dust which the wind rushing down from the hills keeps in active circulation. The streets are filled with natives passing to & fro, dressed in every imaginable variety of garments, or rather some of them scarcely dressed at all, for scores are to be met at any hour of the day with nothing but a shirt on. The natives at first view are a fine looking set generally, more so at least than I had anticipated. They have for the most part a dignified appearance, carry their heads erect, & have a pleasant expression of countenance. The women are much better dressed than the men. Indeed I have not yet noticed anything that one sh'd call immodest in this respect. Most of them wear a loose gown close at the neck & reaching to the feet. Some I have met with a gown of the gayest colors & a rich silk shawl, but without shoes or stockings. On the way to the Mission

premises & stone Church (or Kings Chapel) we passed the palace, a very handsome building in the midst of extensive grounds planted with shrubbery. Near it is the school of young Chiefs (Mr. [Amos S.] Cooke's). At the Church we found the missionaries in session it being the second day of the general meeting. Soon after entering I was introduced to the Moderator (Mr. [Harvey R.] Hitchcock formerly of my native town) & then to the whole body of the miss[ionarie]s who rose to receive me. The letters brought by me were distributed to the proper individuals & for a short time the run of business seemed to be quite interrupted. When we entered Mr [Titus] Coan of Hilo was reading his report; afterwards reports were read by Messrs [Mark] Ives, [John D.] Paris, [Ephraim W.] Clark, [William P.] Alexander & others.

The missionary work at the different stations appears to be in a flourishing condition. In some districts of Hawaii complaint was made in respect to the schools, much oppression existing on the part of the rulers, & the school regulations being but imperfectly carried out. In the Southern & Western districts of Hawaii mention was made of a most distressing drought & consequent famine for many months past. The like is not remembered by the oldest inhabitants. The natives live mostly on roots for which they have to go miles into the mountains. Their whole time is occupied in procuring a scanty subsistence. Every species of vegetation is burnt as dry as the sun can make it. Water is very scarce. Rev. Mr. Ives stated that for many weeks he had to depend for his supply of drinking [water] upon the whale ships, & Mrs Thurston informed me that they had not had potatoes for several months. The distress among the natives is of course great. To render the matter worse the Gov^t Taxes are required to be paid in Gold or Silver. But these metals on that Island are exceeding scarce. Mr [William] Richards told me that the whole am[oun]t of money collected from that Island was not sufficient to pay the Governor's salary. To procure money the people are obliged to go to some of the larger towns, Hilo or Honolulu for employment that



KAWAIHAO CHURCH, HONOLULU

DEDICATED IN 1842

will yield it; their lands at home are neglected & when once away they seldom return or at least in most cases their children are left behind. This is one cause of the diminution of the population of these districts.

Mr [Lorenzo] Lyons' report from Waimea on the same Is^d [Hawaii] was a very amusing one. He not being himself present, it was read by Mr Coan. The sketch he gave of the physical intellectual moral & religious aspect of the station was very graphic. It is a retired station, & the missionary's trials & labors are greater than at most other places. He mentioned many anecdotes illustrative of the rude & uncultivated char[acte]r of the people. Under the head of religious char[acte]r he described a communion scene. The table was covered with plates of every sort & size. The cups were sometimes pitchers, but often only calabashes or gourds. Water colored with molasses was a substitute for wine, & for bread various articles were used taro, potatoes, sometimes *poi* & occasionally ship bread. On one occasion when Mr L[Lyons] was to administer the sacrament the natives in the simplicity of their hearts, had endeavored to make the best arrangements in their power & accordingly had procured from a whale ship $\frac{1}{2}$ a dozen bottles of wine, & a quantity of soft bread a full month before communion. Mr L[Lyons] on coming into Church found the bottles displayed on the table & also the bread wrapped in a napkin. To be sure that all was right he thought it prudent to taste the wine & found every bottle but one was the worst kind of Brandy; the other bottle he c'd not make out except that it was not wine. These were set aside of course. On opening the bread he found it all a black mass of mould. Other articles were substituted in the best way that circumstances w'd allow of & the service gone thro' with.

Dined at Mr Damon's. Stayed with him over night, became acquainted with several of the Miss[ionarie]s.

Sat. May 16. Did not attend the Meeting this AM, busy getting my things landed & in other matters. Dined with Messrs [David B.] Lyman & Ives of Hawaii. Mr L[Lyman]

is a native of New Hartford Ct. & a branch of the original Lyman family in America. Find my interviews with the Miss[ionarie]s delightful after so long a deprivation of Xⁿ [Christian] intercourse, especially as they all seem to be warmhearted Americans & most of them from New England. Took tea with Mr. [Edmund H.] Rogers the mission printer whose wife was Miss Hitchcock, formerly of Manchester. Her brother Mr. Hitchcock of Morokai [Molokai] was also present, with his wife, & Mr Hitchcock 2 yrs since from Ohio, the foreman in the Gov^t printing office. Mr R[ogers] has a family of 4 children.

Sunday [May] 17th. A delightful Sabbath, attended the Seamen's Chapel. Streets of the town as quiet as in a N.E. village. The Chapel is situated near the landing. It is capable of seating 250 or 300 & was well filled, mostly by foreign Amⁿ & Eng^h residents & the officers & seamen of the ships in the harbor. The preacher was Mr. [Daniel T.] Conde one of the missionaries. He gave a well built practical sermon on the Pearl of great price.

Eve. attended service at the Seamen's Chapel & heard Rev Mr [John F.] Pogue miss'y on Kauai, & one of the last reinforcement 2 yrs since. He gave a good sermon on taking up the Cross & following X^t [Christ]. Chapel well filled.

Capt Thompson yesterday was thrown from a horse & broke one of his ribs. Is now confined in a thatch house connected with the Mansion House hotel. Was intoxicated at the time. Thus he loses an opportunity of going direct to California by the *Angola* Capt [Samuel] Varney which is to sail on Tues.

Mon. [May] 18. After breakfast called to see Capt T[hompson], found him easy. Attended the Miss^y meeting this AM. Reports finished. Mr [Daniel] Dole's on the School for Missionaries' Children very sensible & well drawn up. He strongly advocated the admission of other children besides those specified. On this p[oin]t there is some difference of opinion among the missionaries. Dined with Mr & Mrs [Asa] Thurston at Mr Damon's. Mr T[hurston] is one of the oldest missionaries, a venerable,

good man, & Mrs T[hurston] is a very agreeable excellent woman—had a very pleasant interview.

P.M. called on Mrs Paris who is sister of Miss Grant whom I saw at Mr Hart's in N.Y., found her quite feeble, complaint pulmonary. Met there also Mrs Judd wife of Dr [Gerritt P.] J[udd] Minister of Finance.

Mon. P.M. also called on Dr [R. W.] Wood for medical advice. Find him an affable intelligent man.

Tues 19th May. Went down to ship. Rode (on Mr D[amon]'s horse) 2 or 3 miles up the Valley of Nuuanu.

Dined at Mr [Richard] Armstrong's. [Richard Armstrong was the father of General Samuel C. Armstrong, the founder of Hampton Institute.] Mrs Dibble present. Both agreeable ladies. Found in Mrs A[rmstrong] an old schoolmate & friend of Mrs J H Brockway.

Called also at Mr [Benjamin W.] Parkers, not at home.

Called at the Young Chiefs School. Mr Cooke not in. Mr Douglas who came from New London for his health a year since is assistant teacher, & was in charge of the school. I was introduced to the scholars; they are 16 in number, bright & intelligent in features & some of them decidedly fine looking, especially Bernice Pauahi, one of the older girls. [Bernice Pauahi afterward became the wife of Charles R. Bishop. The Diarist corresponded with this interesting Hawaiian as long as she lived, and in the '70's she visited him at his family home in New Haven.] Mr Cooke soon returned. He was formerly an intimate friend of my friend Strong of N[ew] H[aven]; his wife is very pleasing. Met also at Mr Cooke's, Mr. Johnson [Andrew Johnstone?] & his wife teachers on Kauai.

Wed. 20th May. Staid at home most of the day, except riding out in the morn, visiting the ship &c; found Bill who had signed the Temp. pledge on the passage from Callao, under the influence of liquor. Talked with him but fear he is a ruined man. He is discharged from the ship.

Called with Mr D[amon] on Mr Boardman, watch-maker, found him busy & reducing his noonday observa-

tions for the rating of Chronometers, & staid but a few minutes.

Heard from him that there was typesetting in the Gov^t printing office last Sunday. Meeting a workman Mr D[amon] found on inquiry that such was the fact, & wrote a note of inquiry to Mr J[ames] J[ackson] Jarves, Superintendent, &c. It seems to make quite a stir in the village. The reason of it is that Mr J[arvis] being anxious to get a pamphlet ready against the arrival of the *Congress* is hurrying the workmen in the office—the pamphlet is a local & political matter intended to forestall the sentiments of the public officers on board that ship. The story is too long & intricate to set down here. Eve. riding with Mr D[amon] met Mr Hitchcock foreman of the office. He denied sanctioning it but attempted to justify it. Some plain talk. Eve. Mr [P. A.] Brinsmade former Consul called. He returned to the Islands in the *Charles* 2 months since having spent several yrs. in America Eng[land] & France. He has sued Jarves, Editor of the *Polynesian* for libel laying \$50,000 damages. The case is an intricate one; one branch of it is the Sunday printing. Mr B[rinsmade] is brother of H. N. B[rinsmade] D D of Newark N.J. & is a pleasant & intelligent gentleman. Mr & Mrs Ladd also called, a very pleasant couple.

Thurs [May] 21st. After breakfast rode horseback to Waititi [Waikiki] 2 or 3 miles E of Honolulu. Waititi is on the shore, & contains extensive cocoa nut groves.

P.M. attended communion service in connection with the Missionary meeting at the Church. After meeting rode with Mr Damon & Miss Mills on horseback to Mr Adams' place 3^m W. of Honolulu; the ride is a very pleasant one. Mr A[dams] has a number of acres under cultivation; he has been here but 14 months, & his grounds which were then wild are now filled with all kinds of fruits & vegetables. Mr Adams is a Scotchman, has been here 36 yrs, has a native wife & family, is an intelligent man & great reader. His house is a thatched one, commodious, mats on the ground, two chief rooms, front & rear, pictures & maps on the walls, table in center &c.

Frid. [May] 22^d Rode up to the Mission with Mr D[amon] thence to the landing to see the Brit. Steamer *Cormorant* come in, which we had seen with glass from "look out" (on his house) soon after breakfast. This is the first Steamer ever arrived here, & the natives were in a state of great excitement. Every house top & steeple was covered with them & their clatter was heard in every direction. They were seen coming into town from every quarter & at the time of her arrival at the landing the wharfs & every place from which she c'd be seen, was literally covered with natives, & their clatter was raised to the highest pitch. She came up very slowly, with little motion of the wheels & little smoke visible so that many of the natives seemed disappointed, their notions of a "Fire-ship" as they call the steamer not being fully realized.

Found some late papers at Mr D[amon]'s. The papers are mostly filled with the Oregon question.

Called on Mr [George] Brown, U.S. Commissioner. He has rec'd a splendid copy of U.S. Ex[ploring] Exped[itio]n for the King, cost \$80, quarto. Mr. B[rown] is interdicted from intercourse with the Gov^t on acc't of difficulties which have arisen. He tells sad stories of some of the Gov^t officers & has in his possession some documents which are certainly *very queer*. Called also on Dr Wood & Mr Brinsmade. Eve Mr Douglass called.

Sat [May] 23^d. Mr Armstrong invited Mr D[amon] & myself to attend the Gen^l meeting. This I had not done bx [because] I understood that strangers were excluded. Tues PM before adjourning a vote was passed to have the meetings public & many individuals were invited to attend. The next morn Mr Brown & Mr Brinsmade went up, but just as they were entering the Ch[urch] a vote was taken rescinding that of the day before. They accordingly retreated. I am informed however that it is not the design to sit with absolutely closed doors, but that the brethren may invite whom they think proper.

Mr. and Mrs [Cochran] Forbes & Mr. and Mrs.

[Dwight] Baldwin at dinner at Mr. D[amon]s with their Children.

Mr. & Mrs. Hunt & Mr & Mrs [Eliphalet] Whittlesey at tea; they are of the last reinforcement (two yrs. ago [1844]) & the ladies are particularly interesting. Mr. H[unt] is a grad of Yale, Mr. W[hittlesey] of W[illia]ms Col[lege].

Sun. May 24th At 11 attended service at Seamen's Chapel. Mr D[amon] preached a sermon in behalf of the Hawaiian B[ible] Soc. from the text "His word runneth very swiftly," showing that more Bibles have been circulated since 1800 than in all previous time, & detailing his own labors in Bible distribution. The last year he had sold & given away 356 Bibles & about the same number of Test[ament]s. The Chapel was full. PM Reading &c. Mr Damon is in a useful field. Many seamen call for Bibles & papers every day, & seem to be very thankful that they have a true friend in the midst of the ocean.

Mon. [May] 25th Rode to the Mission, in the meeting an hour or more. Com[mitt]ee on common schools reported, commending the present system. Next general meeting to be in May 1848.

Called at Mr Boardman's saw his fine new transit, for which he has just completed a very neat house. PM. At Mr Boardman's met Mrs. Taylor & Mrs. Skinner, also Mr. Brinsmade. Was introduced to the Gov^r Kekuanaoa, a large fat man, very affable & easy in his manners.

Tues. [May] 26th. Rode horseback to a hamlet N. of Waikiki. Visited Mr. Cooke's School, Mr. Douglass in charge of it. Found there Gen^l [William] Miller (the British Consul General) & Capt. Gordon of the *Cormorant*. They left soon after I entered, as Capt G[ordon] was to receive the Miss[ionarie]s and their Children on board his vessel at 11. 60 or 80 went off. Staid at the School 1½ h, heard classes in Algebra & Arithmetic. They seem to be quick in calculations. Their great lack Mr D[ouglass] says is in the power of fixing the attention.

Dined at Mr. [Henry] Dimond's. Messrs Ives & [John S.] Emerson present.

PM spent an hour in the Gen^l Meeting. Subject up the Wailuku [Maui] female seminary, which does not seem to have answered the purpose intended, that is of raising up wives for the students at Lahainaluna. The students complain that they have no means of getting acquainted, or when they have been there that they have not been well treated. Only 1 or 2 instances have occurred in which pupils of the two schools have married. The boys do not think the female graduates superior to others, do not understand domestic duties &c; furthermore the girls are ambitious of marrying foreigners, & the young men find it difficult to obtain them. Courting must be done mostly thro' the teachers. The young man makes known his wants & several who are marriageable are presented for his selection, but on acc't of the difficulties above alluded to after many trials, no match is made, & the swain goes back disappointed. This seems to me a foolish contrivance; “Love goes where it is sent.”

Most of the mission seemed not in favor of any new appropriations for this School.

Miss Tewksbury who came out in the *Charles* called at Mr. Damon's. She is staying at Mr. Marshalls, dislikes Honolulu.

Wed 27th May. Went into M[issionary] meeting a few minutes, subject up, the sup[port] of pastors. It seemed to be the general opinion that the Churches ought to be encouraged to support them, rather than think they sh'd cultivate farms to do it themselves. Gov^t has made an offer to Churches of 50 members or more on application to give them a glebe or parsonage for the natives to cultivate for their pastor. Mr. [Artemas] Bishop is now cultivating much land & has large herds of Cattle. He furnishes milk & butter for many of the residents of Honolulu, & the last year I understood paid into the Mission treasury \$400 or \$500. Mr. [Samuel] Whitney [who died in 1845] was in the habit of similar cultivation at his station. Mr. Green who is not connected with the mission is supported mainly by the Ch[urch] & his own efforts.

Pious fraud—Last Sab. at the Bible Collection Gen^l

Miller who sat with Mr. Brown undertook to practice on him what he called a pious fraud taking out a sovereign (\$5) but *not* putting it into the hat. The sov[ereig]n being noticed by some good brother he asked the Treasurer (Mr Cooke) if there was such a piece; the answer was, 'No.' Then it must have been stolen was the reply, for one was put in by Gen^l Miller. Mr Cooke went straight to the Gen^l to make sure. The Gen^l said he took out a sov[ereig]n to practice a kind of pious fraud on Brown but put it back again into his own *pocket*!

Such is the licentiousness of the natives (& white of course also) that during the visiting of the Steamer by them the women were detected in adultery with the seamen, & they were accordingly forbidden to visit the ship without a man to accompany them.

Thurs. [May] 28th. P.M. a little while at Mission; subject, the ordaining of native preachers. There seems to be a reluctance on the part of some to do this, & some seemed to fear that if the native helpers were ordained & assigned to separate fields the Missions w'd lose their influence over them. This appears to me an improper, if not groundless apprehension. David Malo was mentioned & spoken of with approbation, as of fine talents & undoubted piety. Many of the brethren are in favor of ordaining him. It was stated that on a certain occasion when he had no distinct field assigned him for labor he told one of the Miss[ionarie]s he was going to cultivating *taro patches*, which for a man who was laboring gratis at the direction of others was certainly a natural & sensible resolution. The process of raising a native ministry is slow. Stepped into Mr Boardman's with Mr D[amon] & was introduced to Mr Abel, U.S. Consul. He is a young man & not prepossessing.

Also at the Printing office introduced to Mr [John] Ricord, Attorney general. He is a young man, an adventurer from N.Y. & got his app[ointmen]t in 10 days after his arrival.

Frid. [May] 29th. Went to gen^l meeting. Support of native ministry up, a sort of home missionary plan

adopted, by which funds raised in the Isl^{ds} for the support of the Gospel are to be appropriated by the secular agents for that purpose.

P.M. again at Mission, locating of missionaries. Mr Hunt assigned to Lahainaluna somewhat against his wishes. Mr Forbes to Lahaina as Seamen's Chaplain. Mr Conde made a speech of grievances after the vote was taken & it was time to adjourn.

Took tea & spent the eve at Mr Cooke's, several of the missionary families present. I was much gratified with the appearance of the Young Chiefs. The older ones appear like well educated & refined young gentlemen & ladies in America. They sing excellently, & some of the young ladies are fine performers on the piano. I had not heard that instrument before since leaving the U.S. & the associations it awakened were highly pleasing. I had much conversation with several of the elder pupils & found them intelligent & able to speak English with great accuracy & fluency. The girls were elegantly dressed like ladies in good circumstances at home, the boys ditto. During the Eve Mr Douglass performed some experiments with the Electrical machine much to the amusement of the young people present. Most of the company also took the electric shock. The young ladies expressed themselves highly gratified with their visit to the *Cormorant* steam ship, tho' they had previously obtained very accurate notions of these vessels from plates & descriptions. They spoke of the *Great Britain* & expressed a great desire to see a railroad. Morse's Telegraph they understood the *modus operandi* of & seemed thoroughly to apprehend its advantages.

Bernice [Pauahi] seems to be the brightest & most promising of the girls, tho' the others are by no means deficient. Alexander [Liholiho], the son of the Gov^r of Oahu & adopted by the King is a very pleasant lad. They all seem quick at figures & an arithmetical puzzle which I gave them excited much interest. The girls after trying awhile were willing to be told, but Alexander wished to work it out himself. The eve was passed very agreeably.

Tea was passed around the room, the elder of the boys acting as waiters in part. Introduced to John Li. Returned to Mr D[amon]'s at 9½.

Sun [May] 31st. At Chapel. Rev Mr Hunt preached. Text, "Ye cannot serve God & Mammon &c." [Matthew 6: 24.] An excellent sermon. Mr H[unt] is an eloquent preacher. It strikes me as a measure of doubtful propriety to take him from preaching to be a teacher at Lahaina-luna.

Eve, heard Rev Mr Forbes at the same place, a sound, forcible sermon from the text, "Who died for us that we sh'd hence forth not live to ourselves but to him who died for us & rose again" [Cf. 2 Corinthians 5. 15].

Mon. June 1st 1846. Eve. Attended monthly concert at Mr Armstrong's Ch[urch]. Few there except the missionaries. The natives hold their concert in the morning early, as they do most of their meetings, this being a more convenient time for them than the eve. Several prayers were offered & remarks were made by Bro^s Baldwin, Armstrong, Coan, Andrews, Parker, & Judge Andrews (Lorin). A good spirit was manifested, & a strong desire seemed to exist for a revival of religion in the Churches. The fact was alluded to that more Ch[urch] members had died in the last year than had been admitted. The need of a stronger Gospel influence in respect to the political condition of the nation was spoken of by Judge Andrews. The nation needs a conscience or the new laws will be but a dead letter.

Tues. [June] 2^d Rose at 5¼, took a walk & bathed, accompanied by Mr Douglass. Very pleasant. Temp. of air on the road 75°. In the ravine at the bathing place 72°. Of the water in the pool 72°. Of a spring issuing from the side of the rocks a few yards from the bathing place 74°.

Wrote a long letter to my sister Mary A. to send by a French ship which is to sail for Mazatlan tomorrow. Paid postage over Mexico 50 cts.

Wed June 3^d. It is reported by the French Ship which is from Tahiti, that the natives have killed 3 or 400 of

the French & that the French admiral has retaliated, killing men women & children indiscriminately.

By invitation of Mr Douglass took a ride with the young Chiefs, they very kindly offering me a horse. Rode to Waititi [Waikiki] 3 miles where there is fine bathing in the surf. The premises there are in the hands of the Chiefs. Near the beach are fine groves of Coconut trees, & Kou trees, also several thatched houses one of which is occupied by the Y[oung] Chiefs as a dressing apartment while bathing. They have an attendant on the grounds. These youngsters are fond of riding & some of the way they put their horses on a run. Undressing at the house, I found a bath in the surf on the beach very refreshing. The Y[oung] Chiefs are all provided with surf boards, which are kept in the house above mentioned. They are from 12 to 20 feet long 1 ft wide & in the middle 5 or 6 in thick, thinning off towards the sides & ends so as to form an edge. Some of these have been handed down in the royal family for years, as this is the royal bathing place. None of those belonging to Kamehameha 1st [d. 1819] are now left, but one used by Kaahumanu [regent, 1824-1832] & others belonging to other distinguished Chiefs & premiers are daily used by the boys, & on one of them (Kaahumanu's I believe) I had the pleasure of taking a surf ride towards the beach in the native style. Tho' the motion is swift it is very pleasant & by no means dangerous unless the surf be very strong.

On coming from the beach to the dressing house, calashes of fresh water were in readiness to wash off the sea water. While dressing some of the boys bro't me a couple of fresh coconuts, the water of one of which was very refreshing, the other I carried home to Mr D[amon]'s. We returned full gallop & reached the village about dark. On some of the Coconut trees I counted over 2 dozen nuts. The boys told me that by pouring sea water on the tops of the young trees when only a few feet high, they are prevented from running up & made to produce fruit immediately & in much greater abundance.

On our way back they showed me a cluster of new trees treated in this manner & which were full of fruit.

Thurs. June 4th Called with Mr Boardman at Dr [T. C. B.] Rooke's. He has many fine philosophical instruments, Bar[ometer] Ther[mometer] Hyg[rometer] &c &c. Some of his instruments e.g. pocket compass, standard Ther[mometer] & some others belonged to David Douglas, the Eng[lish] Naturalist who was killed on Hawaii in 1834.

P.M. Went to the Mission to hear Mr [William] Richard's acc't of his visit to the U.S. & Eng[land] to negotiate the Independence of Hawaii. He occupied about 2 hours in a very interesting sketch of the different measures which he & Haalilio took to secure this object with the difficulties they encountered both in Eng. & France. His interviews with Mr. Guizot he represented as very free & he was much delighted with the minister's frankness & with the conviction & extent of his views. While in Paris he heard of the cession of the Islands to [Lord George] Paulet which threw great obstacles in his way. This however seems after all to have been a kind providence, for Guizot acknowledged that the French would have seized the Islands if it had not been done by the British, & it was the mutual jealousy of these two nations that led them to acknowledge the independence of the S[andwich] I^s.

The La Place treaty [1839] gave the Commission great trouble. Among other facts Mr R[ichards] stated to Guizot that when the first French vessel arrived after that treaty (which allowed brandy to be imported at 5 per ct duty) the sailors went on shore & got drunk on the very brandy the ship had brought; went on board raised a mutiny, drove off the Capt & officers, & Haalilio (then Gov^r) with a posse was obliged to exercise his authority to quell the mutiny & reinstate the Capt. & officers in possession of the ship.

Sat. June 6. This forenoon 3 whale ships came in. One had lost her main mast in a gale on the N W Coast, another was badly leaking, & the crew of the other in a state of



THE OLD MISSION HOME, KING STREET, HONOLULU

THIS WAS THE EARLIEST FRAME BUILDING TO BE ERECTED IN THE ISLANDS
(1821)

mutiny. They had shut the Capt. & Mates below. The Capt. was taken on board one of the other ships which they spoke & the Crew were persuaded to come here to have the matter settled.

Sun. 7th June Attended Chapel. Rev Mr Whittlesey missionary at Hana preached, poor sermon poorly delivered. Text Prepare to meet thy God.

After meeting called with Miss T[ewksbury] at Capt Domini's to hear Mr Johnson sing; he sang & performed some parts of the oratorio of the Creation splendidly.

Mon. June 8th 1846. Walk & bath before breakfast. AM busy packing Calabashes for Hawaii.

At 4 PM the hour at which the *Amelia*, a native schooner was to sail I was in readiness to proceed to the vessel, but the native who was to carry my luggage was not to be found. Mr Paris sent over his attendant however & my two Calabashes of miscellanies & one of water were soon at the landing. After waiting $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour at the wharf went on board, & at 6 PM set sail.

We had on board Mr Clark his wife & 4 children & Miss [Maria C.] Ogden for Maui, Mr Coan & Mr Lyman, with a son of Mr L[yman] & myself for Hawaii, together with 20 or 30 natives. The vessel is a small schooner, has a small aft cabin with 4 berths, was newly painted & one of the best vessels of the "Mosquito Fleet," as that of the S[andwich] I. has been called. The *Hope* with Mr Thurston & family & Mr Ives on board sailed a few minutes before us. We went out of the harbor with a fine breeze and when off Waititi [Waikiki] passed the *Hope* in fine style having every prospect of a favorable passage.

Thurs. 11th June 1846. Sailed well nearly all night & yet this morn again where we were yesterday & day before off Ranai pt. Becalmd all day. To-day a little nearer up with the point, & towards night a breeze springing up we at last passed it & stood on for Lahaina. Just after sunset Lahainaluna appeared in sight, quite conspicuous on the rise back of Lahaina, with the mt^s of Maui in the background. Still on deck. Kept awake nearly all night by toothache, fleas, bone ache, & the noisy natives. By 3 AM

we were in the harbor of Lahaina & cast anchor soon after sunrise.

Friday June 12th Went ashore in a diddling leaky old whale boat which professed to have been sent off for us, but afterwards demanded pay. Walked up to Mr Baldwins house, where we found Mr Clark's family, who had landed a little before in the vessel's boat. They were preparing a lunch under a beautiful vine arbor by the house & after picking a few grapes from the vines which spread over these & the adjoining premises (Mr Forbes', formerly Mr Richards') we joined them & made a fine repast of coffee, milk, eggs, bread &c.

Horses being in readiness we immediately rode 2 miles up a dusty road, through a sterile region to Lahainaluna, which is pleasantly situated except as to dust. Arrived between 9 & 10 at Mr Emerson's. After dinner rode with Mr Coan to Lahaina, found the vessel waiting. Set sail about 5 o'clock. The *Hope* (which had reached Lahaina the eve before us) starting at the same time for Kailua [Hawaii].

Sat June 13th This morn, the mt^s of Hawaii before us. Have made a fine run after a short calm in the AM; the sea breeze took us into Kawaihae where we landed at 2 PM. Unexpectedly found Bro. Lyons of Waimea here on his regular tour. He had just come down in the A.M., & was about commencing his state work, but immediately resolved to return with us to Waimea.

Arrived at the comfortable & hospitable residence of Mr Lyons having walked 14 miles since 2¼ P.M., it being when we arrived just 7. Mr L[yons]'s family consists of Mrs L[yons] & 4 children, a pleasant & apparently happy household.

Sun. 14 June. At 9 went into Mr L[yons]'s Sab[bath] School of 30 or 40 natives in a room of his own house, all ages from men grown to little children, all decently clad, 2 or 3 little ones nearly white. They recited passages of the Test[amen]t & Mr Coan talked to them & closed with prayer. They appeared orderly & attentive.

At 10 went to the meeting house a few rods distant. The

house is furnished with settees, & was about $\frac{1}{2}$ filled by perhaps 150 or 200 natives, most of them decently & some gaily dressed; a few who seemed to be the *aristocracy* of the place had their heads fancifully decked with wreaths of flowers & other ornaments. Mr Coan preached energetically from Jude 13 verse & the people gave strict attention; the singing was by a small choir near the pulpit & very respectable.

Mon June 15. Ther at Sunrise 60°. After Breakfast Mr Lyman 2 lads & myself with 3 or 4 natives, equipped with lamps visited 2 caves about 4 miles S.E. of Mr. Lyons. The whole distance was over a nearly level plain covered with dry grass & in places sandy or rather dusty so as to make the walking difficult. The two caves are a little N. of a volcanic cone which rises some 600 ft from the plain. The entrances of both are similar, directly from the plain downwards, & 60 or 80 rods apart. We entered & explored both as far as was practicable.

The entrance of the 1st about 3 ft wide, descending 10 or 15 ft, expanding, some parts 2 rods wide, from 10 to 20 high, irregular & extending 5 or 7 rods. Scores of skeletons, dry, skin & integuments almost entire. Many sticks & poles on which the bodies were brought hither, with pieces of ropes, mats, kapas, or native cloth, calabashes of from 2 to 6 quarts &c &c. The skeletons were in every possible position, usually in a bent posture, or drawn together. They must have been here many years & these caves have not been used as burial places probably within 12 or 20 yrs.

Our guide refused to enter the caves either from superstitious or other motives.

Eve. preparing for an early start tomorrow for Hilo.

Tues. June 16. Was awaked at 4½ AM by an earthquake, 2 distinct shocks. The first as if some thing heavy had fallen in another room & a few seconds after a 2^d & somewhat harder shock with several immediate & diminishing pulsations like the reverberations of a thunder clap.

Breakfasted at 6 & at 7 started on our journey. Mr

Lyons had very kindly provided two good horses for us & men to carry our baggage without expense to us nearly half the way to Hilo.

Our route for 5 or 6 miles lay through a level woody country & the path was very muddy so that a horse could only go on a walk. We came out the woods some 4 or 5 miles from the sea which was in full view, & kept our course about that distance from the shore during the day.

About 10½ passed the village of Koloa between us & the sea. There being but 2 horses & 4 to ride we took turns, & thus found the traveling comparatively easy.

At 12 we stopped at a native house & dined from the good things provided by Mrs Lyons. Started on at 4 PM., reached *Hanakamalii* about 4½ where we left our horses, & walked on 4 or 5 miles to *Koholalele* where we stopped for the night—arrived here about 6 having travelled from Waimea about 28 or 30 miles. Lodged in a native house just beyond a deep ravine in which we bathed. The natives immediately struck up a fire in the cavity in the center of the house & put some sweet potatoes roasting for our supper, which with the contents of our Calabashes made us a good meal. The house was filled with smoke but the loose thatching soon allowed it to pass away. One corner of the room was raised a foot or so from the ground & matted for a sleeping place. After reading the S[crip]ture[s] & prayers in Eng. & native we spread our blankets & retired.

Wed. June 17 Rose at 5 & were ready to start at 6, went on 2 or 3 miles, over several ravines, before breakfast. Breakfasted under shade of Tutui tree. At 11 came to a place where Mr Coan had appointed a meeting. The notice being very short, but 35 were present, mostly females & old men—this being what is called the kings week, most of the men were absent working out the public tax. We passed large plantations of taro, in which men were thus at work. In one place these fields must have embraced 40 or 50 acres. After a short service of ½ an hour in the school house where the people were assembled we went on our journey & at 12 stopped under a Tutui tree to dine.

Started again at one & at 2 reached the village of *Lau-pahoehoe*, romantically situated in the bottom of a deep ravine, on a lava flow at the meeting of the valley with the Sea.

The natives were gathered for meeting in the native Ch[urch] which was of a rough uncemented stone wall with thatched roof. Mr Coan preachd admitted 6 to the Church & administerd the sacrament. About 150 were present, most of them decently clad, & some sitting on rude settees, but the greater part on mats in the native style. The ceremony of admitting the new members was a solemn one & most of them seemd to feel the solemnity of the transaction. There were 3 males & 3 females. Three of them were baptized, which was done by sprinkling as they knelt. One of them was a mere boy, dressed in two shirts; another an older lad, clad simply in a strip of blue cloth around his shoulders. The third, a young man, in white pants & roundabout with linen bosomed shirt in European style, had evidently come from a distance, from the way in which his garments were soaked with perspiration. One of the females was apparently a middle aged woman wrapped in a dirty piece of brown Tapa, the other two young ladies, one of them in a handsome calico dress with black silk shawl & the other in a loose dress of white. The Elements for the communion service were taro & water, the one cut up in pieces & served in a tin & earthen plate, & the other distributed in two little yellow earthen mugs & a tin pint basin which we had in our calabashes.

We had travelled this day about 15 miles, mostly within 3 or 4 miles of the coast. As we came into Mr Coan's district the natives seemed greatly to rejoice at meeting him, & on his account I suppose I found myself welcomed with similar cordiality. The people generally pressed round, shaking hands & saying their *aloha*. In passing a house on the way an old man came out to meet Mr Coan & welcomed him with a touch of noses. On being introduced to me, he grasped me by the hand & immediately brought his nasal organ into contact with mine, remarking that X^{ns} [Christians] were to greet one another with a holy kiss. He

seemed to be a simple hearted honest Xⁿ & Mr Coan remarks that many such are to be found among the natives.

Thurs June 18th 1846 Started at 5½, hired men to take our baggage from here to Hilo for \$1.00 each, to be paid in cloth. Went on two or 3 miles & over 3 ravines before breakfast. From 8½ to 10 stopped to attend a meeting in the Ravine of Maulua, which is said to be the deepest of all. At 11½ bathed in a deep ravine. After dinner Mr Coan preached to 20 or 30 people in the thatched meeting house, & at 2 we again started on; passed many deep ravines, most of them occupied by fine streams of water. One of these streams we crossed just at the verge of a deep gulf down which the water plunged in a cascade of 200 feet.

At 4 stopped for Mr Coan to address a spontaneous meeting of 20 or 30 under the shade of a Pandanus, the meeting house having recently been blown down.

Two miles further on we halted at 6½ for the night at a place called Hakalau. Our host is headman of the vicinity. We found here greater marks of civilization than in the other native houses we had occupied. A glass lamp with oil I saw for the first time, the substitute at other places being strings of the Tutui or Candle-nut. The native who lighted the lamp pulled up the wicks an inch or more so as to make a torch, this being I am told their universal practice, until by hard drilling they are taught to do otherwise.

Frid. 19th June Hired a guide, & started with Mr Lyman & his son Frederic at 7½ to visit the Falls of *Akaka* about 4 miles S or SW of Hakalau.

The gulf into which the water falls, is of a circular, or rather semicircular form with perpendicular walls of nearly naked lava rock some 400 or 500 feet high. Except on the face of this horse shoe precipice the two steep sides of the ravine are clothed with a dense mass of wanton vegetation. The stream falls in an unbroken mass of white foam down the face of this precipice into a basin below. Smaller rills were falling from the sides of chasm & such was the force of the wind circulating here that the whole

gulf below the falls was filled with spray & mist, so that one approaching near the bottom of the cascade was soon wet to the skin. The Basin into which the water falls is several rods in diameter & the perpendicular height of the falls as measured with a line by Mr Coan is 426 ft. We threw down several stones & found them to occupy from $4\frac{3}{4}$ to $5\frac{1}{4}$ seconds in falling, which wd give a depth corresponding with Mr Coan's measurement.

After taking a lunch which we brought with us, started on about one PM for *Makahalanaloa* where at $3\frac{1}{2}$ PM we met Mr Coan who had gone on direct from Hakalau a distance of about 5 miles to attend a meeting. The distance from the falls is also about 5^m.

After resting we started on at $4\frac{1}{2}$ & soon arrived at Mr Castle's, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile beyond. When half way there we fell in with two carts each drawn by 4 yokes of oxen, one set of them just broken in; the two teams were connected by a long rope & went on by *fits & starts*, now stopping & now going on a run. The carts were large & heavy with thick solid wheels made of planks pinned together. They were well filled with a crowd of noisy girls & boys & by invitation of the Driver, an American, I took a ride in one of these Hawaiian Coaches as far as Mr Castle's house, glad thus to relieve a little my feet which were becoming sore from walking in the water & climbing precipices.

Stopped a few minutes at Mr C[astle]'s; were entertained with a refreshing bowl of milk, & then going on a mile & a half or 2 miles put up for the night at a native house, near by. The place is called *Puumoi*. Mr Castle is an American, has been in the country many yrs, has an extensive plantation & a native wife & family. Near his house we passed large fields of sugar cane on his lands, but cultivated by Chinamen who have pretty much monopolized the sugar business in this region. Mr C[astle] has also considerable herds of cattle.

Sat 20th June. Took breakfast at 6 A.M., passed over a ravine & stopped with Mr Coan to attend a meeting, while Mr L[yman] & his son went on home. Thatched meeting

house, 80 or 90 present. Communion. Taro & water, tin plate & earthen mug. Left at 8½ went on 3 m & stopped at another meeting. About the same number present.

This was the last of Mr. Coan's meetings on this route. Owing to the short notice & the fact that most of the people were off doing public work, they were much thinner than usual, being mostly composed of Church members.

The people at these meetings were generally serious in their deportment & appeared to give good attention to the preaching. Twice at our evening prayers natives were called upon to lead, which they seemed to do with as much readiness & fluency as laymen at home.

At 11 we went on & at a cove some 3 miles from Hilo met a bundle of refreshments sent on by Mrs Coan. We were ferried over the stream in a boat, sat down & lunched on Mrs Coan's cake & cheese at 12 & at 1 PM arrived at Mr Coan's residence in Hilo, 20th June 1846.

Mr Coan's house is a pleasant farm house, about 40 or 50 rods from the beach & in a delightful location. The Mission ground on which it is situated is a narrow strip running S.W. from the beach indefinitely inland, the more inland portion being worthless lava. This was given 20 yrs ago by Kaahumanu.

Took tea at Mr. Lyman's who lives in a beautiful situation a few rods S.W. of Mr Coan's. Returned to Mr Coan's & retired at 9.

Sunday June 21st At 10½ attended native meeting, house large, thatched in native style, 120 ft by 60, & well filled. Congregation probably 1000 or 1200. People mostly well dressed, tho very fancifully & in a great variety of gay color. Handkerchiefs in the piece are a common substitute for shawls. The congregation was attentive & solemn; after meeting as I sat in front of the pulpit multitudes came up & shook hands with me.

P.M. staid in the house reading—a very pleasant & I hope profitable Sabbath. At family prayers it is Mr Coan's custom to expound the portion of SS [Scriptures] read, with particular reference to the instruction of his

children, of whom he has 4—2 girls & two boys. His family is a delightful one.

Monday June 22. Took a walk with Mr Coan before dinner on the beach, saw how far up the water [rose] during the great influx of the sea Nov 7th 1837, which must have been some 12 or 15 rods from the beach, the water having risen some 10 or 12 ft above high water mark; 2 or 300 people were swept into the sea, & 13 lives were lost. A dismal wail spread instantly all thro' the region, & the people, who were then assembled in great numbers at a protracted meeting were deeply impressed by the event specially as the sermon of the preceding PM had been from the text "Prepare to meet thy God."

P.M. took a walk to the sugar mill of some Chinamen $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile S. of Mr Coan's. There are 5 Chinamen here, & they manufacture large quantities of sugar. Some of them speak a little English. Their mill is like a cider mill with 3 cylinders the middle one turning the other two. They use horse power. In the boiling house there were 3 large boilers in operation. I understood them to say that an acre of cane w'd yield 3000 lbs of sugar. Their samples of sugar seemed of good quality.

Walked from the sugar mill a little distance to the first of 3 small cone craters which lie partly on the mission ground back of Mr Coan's $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile. We ascended the first one on top of which Messrs Coan & Lyman have erected a small native house as a play house for their children, there being a good place for sliding down hill on the Eastern side in the native fashion, it being the identical sliding place of King Kamehameha Ist, when in this part of his dominions.

We called also on another Chinaman who has his shop on the beach. He is a Jack-of-all-trades, carpenter, watch-maker, silversmith, tinker store keeper &c &c., talks English, is ingenious, but like most of his nation here dishonest & unprincipled.

Tues. June 23. PM. Took a walk with Mr C[oa]n to the Rainbow Water fall $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles W. on the Wailuku River.

The stream, which was now but a few feet in width, here plunges perpendicularly down a precipice 100 ft or more.

Eve. Listened to part of the article in Edin[burgh] Rev[iew, vol. 82, 1845, pp. 1-85] on "Vestiges of Creation."

Wed June 24. AM. Called with Mr Coan at Mr Moore's, who keeps a small store; at Mr Hoyer's, finding Mrs H[oyer] at home, her husband, who is port pilot being at Oahu; also called at Mr Pitman's, who has a beautiful & tasteful residence, & at Dr Norman's, who occupies a mission house & has a very good apothecary shop.

P.M. Went to the Church at 4. to see several couples of natives married. Mr Coan has designated Wed PM at the commencement of the usual lecture as the time [for] performing this ceremony. Nine pairs were tied this batch, the whole ceremony occupying less than 15 m. They were for the most part well dressed, tho' in a great variety of colors & costumes. The grooms were dressed some in roundabouts some in calico coats. The brides had wreaths or bands around their heads, & one wore a bonnet. The assent was audibly pronounced by each individual. Many of them came from quite a distance. One more couple were united afterwards, making 10 in one day. Mr C[oa]n thus marries 150 or 200 couples yearly. No fee is given to the minister. Parties to be legally married must procure a license from the proper magistrate.

Eve. social meeting of Mission families at Mr Coan's. Only Mr Lyman present. Conversation arose respecting the religious char[acte]r of the natives & the influence of foreigners on them, especially of seamen. The influence of the latter is unspeakably pernicious. Men who have families at home & wish to maintain a good char[acte]r there, do not hesitate while here to wallow in iniquity. During the whaling seasons (spring & autumn) such is the prevalence of vice that Mrs Coan has doubted the propriety of attempting to keep up her school for girls in this place, at least during those portions of the year. To make the matter worse there is no police to preserve order.

Sun. 28th June. Eve. we were surprised by the arrival of Mr Cooke with his school of young Chiefs, together with Dr Rooke & wife & Mr Douglass, on the tour of Hawaii. Mr Cooke & the young ladies 4 in number stopped at Mr Coan's. Mr & Mrs Rooke went to Mr Pitman's & the rest remained on board.

Rec'd a letter from my friend E. Strong dated Dec 25 which came by the *Brooklyn* which sailed from N.Y. Feb 4th with 175 Mormons on board for California. This is the first letter I have had from the US & it was a rich feast.

In conversation Mr Coan mentioned several cases of ship masters who have been hopefully converted while stopping at his house. His kindness of manner is well fitted to touch the heart & prepare it to receive gospel truth.

Mon 29th June Rec'd a letter from Sister Mary A. at Ellington by the *Brooklyn*, & bro't here by Mr Douglass. It was dated Jan 18th at which time I was shivering off Cape Horn. I was greatly rejoiced to hear from home & that all there were well.

Making preparations to start tomorrow for the Volcano. The Company will consist of about 20 besides servants &c &c.

Eve at Mr Coan's. In speaking of Wilkes's Ex[ploring] Ex[pedition] Mr Coan mentioned the facts in reference to certain matters where Wilkes does him gross injury & injustice.

[Wilkes, *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition*, vol. 4, Philadelphia, 1845, pp. 209-210, says:

“Mr. Goodrich, the missionary who preceded Mr. Coan, was very desirous of introducing the culture of sugar-cane and coffee, and became very active in promoting it. With the assistance of the natives he planted a large number of coffee trees, and was bent upon instructing them in the mode of cultivating both. He also erected a small sugar-mill. I regretted much to hear that his successor viewed all these improvements in a far different light, and, not content to allow the trees to fall into neglect, he actually

took the trouble to root them up, in order to arrest the progress of the improvement of the natives in their culture.

"I walked round the garden with the missionary, and saw all the vines, fruit, and ornamental trees, to which his predecessor had paid so much attention, and in which he had taken such pride, going to waste. One would have thought that the spirit of his calling would have dictated a more worthy and enlightened course. I never was more satisfied with the folly of such a step, than when the question was asked me by an intelligent native, 'Why the missionaries no like grow sugar-cane and coffee?' . . .

"Being much engaged with the natives, I had a fair opportunity of observing their improvement in religious knowledge; and I regret to say, that it is not such as I anticipated from the accounts that were given me, or equal to what it ought to be from the exertions of their pastor; for, while I cannot but condemn the course he has pursued in rooting up the coffee plantations, and overturning the good works of his predecessor, I must do him the justice to say, he is untiring in his clerical duties, and his field is one of constant labour, both of mind and body."]

In regard to the coffee, he only rooted up a few dead trees; there were more in his yard when Wilkes was here than in Mr [Joseph] Goodrich's time. He never opposed the raising of coffee, his wife always uses it & it is always on his table. He furnished young plants to the natives in great quantities & whenever they wished them. There are trees now in his yard planted by Mr Goodrich, & from 10 to 20 ft high. Most of Mr Castle's coffee plantation was taken from Mr Coan's yard. Wilkes's whole statement is grossly false & his insinuations unmanly & unjust.

In reference to the sugar cane Mr Coan was urged by the complaints of the natives [to] drop a line to Capt W[ilkes] stating the facts. At Wilkes' request he undertook to investigate the matter & distributed the \$10 remuneration to the best of his judgment, thus spending a solid day in doing Capt W[ilkes]'s own work, & for which Capt W[ilkes] sent him a note of thanks & afterwards sent out the false insinuations contained in his book.

As to the men going up the Mt. on the Sabbath, the people had too much conscience to hire themselves at all till Mr Coan ascertained that it was professedly a case

of necessity & gave them to understand that it was proper for them to go. Instead of his hindering the party, they could have done nothing without his assistance. He afterwards found he had been imposed upon. Instead of 10 or 12 as requested they took 50 men, & there was no necessity in this case. The mountain party was in want of nothing but tea sugar & such like articles.

Tues 30th June [1846]. Party all ready & started off for the Volcano about 11 AM. The Company consisted of 12 young chiefs (4 females & 8 males) Mr Cooke & Mr Douglass, Dr Rooke's wife, John Li, Capt Newell, Mr Andrews of Molokai, Mr Coan & his son Titus Munson, myself, together with a train of 30 or 40 natives to carry luggage &c making in all a procession of 50 or 60 individuals. There were in the Company about 15 or 20 horses those not mounted sharing horses with others part of the way on the plan of "*ride & tie.*"

The company were in fine spirits & set off at a good pace. The young Chiefs had secretly brought with them a national flag to be carried in front of Alexander, the reputed heir apparent to the throne. But it was no sooner displayed than Mr Cooke ordered it to be sent back. It is a difficult task to restrain the impetuous spirits of these youth[s] & keep them from improprieties & mischief. Tho for the most part well-disposed there is still much pride among them, some haughtiness, & in some a strong tendency to vice. The influence of foreigners on them is in the main bad, & they sometimes apply to such to aid them in their wicked schemes.

Just after leaving the village we passed the royal fish ponds on the left. These are connected with the bay, & contain the finest mullet in large quantity. They are tabu to the natives & fish from the ponds cannot be purchased at any price. The ponds are navigated by light canoes made of bark & on our return we saw a large number of them occupied by men engaged in fishing.

Our route for several miles was southerly, the first 5 or 6 miles through an open level country richly clothed with vegetation. On the left a part of the way was a beau-

tiful dark & dense grove of breadfruit & other trees. We now entered a piece of woods, thro' which the path was somewhat hilly & rough. The woods extend about 4 miles. In them are two cleared spots, & in the second of these nearly through the woods we passed the boundary line between the districts of Hilo & Puna, about 8 miles from the former village.

Soon after leaving the woods we halted under the shade of some young cocoanut trees & dined, the young Chiefs mainly on poi & raw fish & the rest of us on the bread & beef in our Calabashes which Mrs Coan had amply furnished.

We left this spot about 3 PM & at 7 arrived at our stopping place for the night. It is a new halfway house built by Mr Pitman, & very convenient except that food for horses is scarce in the vicinity. The house is thatched, native style, & has one half of the floor raised 2 or 3 feet from the ground & matted as a place for sleeping. This house as near as we could estimate is not far from 18 or 19 ^m from Hilo & about 15 from the Volcano, the whole distance being somewhere between 30 & 35 miles. This place is in the district or division of Olaa, & has been open but a few weeks. The old house or stopping place, commonly called Olaa is about 3 or 4^m back.

Turning out our horses we took our supper & about 9½ got ready to retire. The natives made such a noise that it was difficult to sleep notwithstanding our weariness. The male portion of the company occupied the elevated floor, reaching the whole length of the house, & the ladies a platform curtained off at one end. The mosquitoes & fleas, being obliged to divide there attentions among the whole company, each individual escaped with a comparatively small share of annoyance. The only furniture was a small table, a bench or two, & a cupboard containing a few plates, bowls, knives, spoons &c &c.

Wed. July 1st 1846 After travelling 4 or 5^m we stopped for breakfast by a small pool of water, while the others who had hastily breakfasted on fish & poi passed on ahead. The path bore generally southwest, the surface mostly

level, covered with a light soil with ferns & grass. Wilkes remarks that after leaving Olaa his course was over an old lava plain with no distinct path. [Wilkes, *Narrative*, vol. 4, p. 119: "After leaving Olaa, we had no distinct path to follow; for the whole surface became a mass of lava, which retained all its metallic lustre, and appeared as if it had but just run over the ground—so small was the action of decomposition."'] On the contrary the path all the way is well trodden, & if one were to go out of it he would soon be in difficulty from the numerous fissures by which the lava is intersected. The whole face of the country is a lava flow, but has every where become covered with soil & vegetation. Tree ferns 20 to 30 ft high.

The last few miles before reaching the volcano the country is rather more uneven & the last mile or two of our course was along the southern side of an old volcanic crater.

We arrived at the huts on the margin of the great crater at 12, & suddenly took our first view of this world-renowned volcano. It is a sunken pit about 3^m in diameter, in the midst of an apparently level plain. There is no cone, no ridge around it, nothing to mark your approach, but you come all at once to the very brink of a perpendicular precipice 700 ft high, from which you look down upon the black & apparently level bottom of the crater, which seems like an extensive swamp of peat, with here & there smoke & steam ascending & presenting very much the appearance of such a swamp just after being burned over & before the fires are entirely extinguished. Our stopping place was on the northern bank & from this place a full view of the interior of the crater c'd be had. On first looking into this pit one experienced a strong feeling of disappointment. Can this be the famous volcano?, tho't I. The distinction of its outline produces a false impression as to its size, & if I had known nothing previously of its extent I should have looked upon it as a sunken pit some 2 or 300 feet deep & perhaps $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile or so in diameter. No fire was visible & only a little smoke & steam; the bottom seemed quite even excepting a low ridge part of

the way around just within the inner margin of the black ledge leaving a canal somewhat lower than the surface of the latter. [Here follows a description of the volcano and an account of how Mr. Coan, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Douglass, and the narrator walked part way around it on the western bank.]

Passing a little more than half round the crater on the upper bank, we descended on the south side, where for some distance the slope is not more than 30 or 40° into the crater, in order to take the nearest way back to the house as it was now getting late in the PM. The descent here is very easy. The lava at the foot of the hill was rolled up with an irregular surface, like a stiffened ocean surf, or rather like a thick paste rolled & pushed up in masses when too viscid to flow easily. We passed over this for some distance towards the lake, then turned & followed the black ledge nearly in a straight line towards the place of ascent to the house. What has been called the black ledge is a horizontal uneven margin of recent lava extending entirely around the crater & from 500 to 2000 ft in width. The junction between it & the bottom of the perpendicular walls is very sharp & is covered with no debris. This ledge is sometimes overflowed & of course there is then formed a new surface & somewhat higher than before. The ledge itself has been formed by the sinking down of the inner part of the crater, leaving this terrace with an irregular & nearly perpendicular margin towards the interior. The distance from this ledge to the bottom of the crater varies much at different times. At present the whole interior of the crater is nearly on a level with the black ledge. A little within the inner margin of it on the East N.E. & NW sides is a ridge of angular blocks of compact lava, heaped up in some way by violence to the height in some places of 150 ft or more above the general level, & leaving a space between it & the black ledge of from 10 to 40 or 50 yards wide which is called the *Canal*. This canal is now nearly filled with lava which has flowed at different times from the great lake, entering the canal by two passages one on each side of the lake &

thus flowing at the same time on both sides of the crater so as to meet on the northern side. The distance from the top of the black ledge to the surface of this canal is in some places 40 or 50 feet. The lava in it resembles that of the black ledge & other parts of the crater.

About midway on the east side of the crater we passed at a little distance the eastern sulphur banks but had no time to give them a close examination.

We arrived at the foot of the ascending path on the northern side of the crater about sunset, & after resting a few minutes commenced our ascent. The first 3^d or half of the way was comparatively easy & direct, but it is a path that proves very deceptive; when you suppose you are nearly up you suddenly discover that a long crooked rising path is still before you. This part of the volcano is very irregular. The general ascent in going up is towards the left, a perpendicular wall several hundred feet high rising on the right; on the left of the path as you ascend is a deep gorge or ravine densely wooded, with trees of considerable size, with a high ridge between it & the open pit of the crater. After ascending about half way the dusk of evening came on & with it a drizzling rain & mist, which rendered it difficult to follow the footpath through the grass & shrubbery & soon we lost it entirely. After searching for some time in rain & finding ourselves in the midst of crevices & chasms into which it w[oul]d be fatal to fall we began to despair of success & began to think of spending the night supperless & in the rain among these chasms & pitfalls. We shouted & screamed at the top of our voices to rouse our friends at the house which was almost directly above us, but owing to the noise of the wind, without success. At length, after groping our way in some places over passages not more than a foot wide with deep chasms on each side Mr Douglass thought he had hit on the path. On examination it proved to be true, & with thankfulness for our deliverance we continued our ascent, & about 8 o'clock arrived at the house weary wet & hungry. Our friends had become anxious for our safety & were just preparing to hang out a lamp on

the cliff for our guidance. Mr Coan has visited the volcano several times a year for a number of yrs & is familiar with every part of it, yet on this occasion he was utterly unable to find the way. A stranger or one but little acquainted with the place w'd not have succeeded in reaching the top at all in such circumstances.

Thurs July 2^d [They descend into the crater and make their way to the "Great Lake."] While standing on the bank Mr Andrew's panama hat was blown off & carried directly on to the lake. The wind swept it along the surface for some distance to where it was sheltered by the perpendicular bank. Altho' the lava was boiling & rolling up within a few feet of it, it lay some 10 or 15 minutes before it took fire. At length it began to smoke & soon burst into a flame. In its charred state it perfectly retained its form for several minutes till a breath of wind scattered it in innumerable flakes over the surface. Passing around the lake to the leeward side we found the fibrous lava or Pele's hair everywhere collected in the holes & crevices. It appears to be formed by the stringing out & sudden cooling of the lava as it is thrown up in the process of boiling, like the threads of melted sealing wax. These fibres are borne by the wind & scattered all over the leeward side of the crater. On the eastern side I approached the margin of the lake again, threw in a pole which took fire instantly & as it was thrust into the liquid lava by the rolling over of the surface occupied considerable time in consuming. The crust on this side seemed to have little or no motion to the southward but was nearly or quite stationary. The northern bank of the lake is much higher than the rest & a little beyond it a bluff rises a hundred feet or more above the general surface. The space between is much broken up, coated with sulphur enveloped in steam & apparently inaccessible.

In the night the distant fires of the lake were brilliant but by no means as much so as usual. Mr Coan says he never saw the crater so inactive.

Friday July 3^d 1846 Took lunch in hands and started at 7 in the rain for Hilo, walked the first 10 miles & got



THE LAKE OF FIRE—KILAUEA, ON THE SIDE OF MAUNA LOA

thoroughly wet. Arrived about 3 PM at the old halfway house about 3 or 4 miles beyond the place where we stopped going up & about 15^m from Hilo, having been nearly five hours in getting twice as many miles. Had got thoroughly drenched & found a change of clothes & dinner very acceptable.

Sat July 4th 1846 After breakfast started in the rain at 7 AM. Walked the whole distance. Under the coconut trees where we dined in going up we found a gathering of the people to see the young Chiefs. We reachd home at 11½ AM & a good bath & change of clothes, with a warm dinner did much to banish weariness. Mr Cooke's company which had stopped at the new halfway house came in about 11½ hours behind us.

Sunday July 5th. Attended native service all day. AM Mr Cooke preachd. Congregation large, 2000, house crowded. PM John Ii preached, apparently very eloquent. The people gave profound attention; his manner was earnest & easy. The natives delight to hear him. In the PM the Lords supper was administered, 12 deacons, 2 dozen small Britannia cups for the water & half the number of similar plates for the bread. The congregation was larger than usual owing to the Communion, the clearness of the day & the presence of the young Chiefs.

At 4 PM conducted an Eng. service at Mr Coan's. Several of the neighbors in & the meeting a pleasant one.

Monday July 6th Busy writing & getting ready to start tomorrow with Mr Coan on a tour thro' Puna.

The native monthly Concert was held in the Church in the afternoon. John Ii addressed them. Chained their attention. He was one of the first that saw the first missionaries on their arrival & was Mr [Rev. Asa] Thurston's first pupil. He is a sterling Christian, a man of great judgment & weight of Char[acte]r. He has the oversight in part of the Young Chiefs is often employed by the Gov^t in important matters. He w'd have been Gov^r of Hawaii had not his connection with the young Chiefs been deemed more important. It has been remarked that he is a terror to evil doers & that delinquent Gov^{rs} will run from him.

He has a fine countenance & is greatly beloved by the missionaries as well as by the people. On this occasion he alluded feelingly to the scenes of past years, & gave a sketch of the progress of X^{nty} [Christianity] in the Islands, urging eloquently on the people their obligations to X^{ns} [Christians] in the U.S. Mr Coan remarked that it was the best address he had ever heard from any native, that it made him both weep & laugh. The speaker after talking an hour expressed fear of tiring the people; they all cried out No!. This man has more moral power than any other in the nation. Mr Cooke remarked that he had lived with him 6 yrs & never [had] seen anything in him the least out of the way.

Tues July 7th At 10 AM started with Mr Coan on a tour through *Puna*, the southern district of his Diocese. These tours he makes thro' his whole field, which is nearly 100 miles in length, about once a quarter, holding meetings, baptising, marrying, attending to Ch[urch] discipline &c &c. He calls the roll of the Church members & inquires the *whereabouts* & char[acte]r of each individual. Puna contains between 3 & 4 thousand inhabitants.

Our course the first part of the way lay about S.E. thro' a level, lava country with a very light soil. The people are necessarily poor. A bare subsistence is all they can obtain & scarcely that. Probably there are not \$10 in money in all Puna & it is tho't that not over 1 in 500 has a single cent. The sight of some of these potatoe patches w'd make a discontented N.E. farmer satisfied with his lot. Yet I have no where seen the people apparently more contented & happy. And Mr C[oa]n testifies that in morals they far surpass the natives of the more fertile districts. They have neither time nor means to be vicious.

At half past 2 PM we reached *Keaau* 12^m from Hilo, on a plain at the head of an indentation of the sea. Having dispatched our dinner Mr Coan commenced his meeting at 4½. Seven were admitted to the Church, some of them baptized, & one child. The Lord's Supper was administered, the bread being distributed in a tin plate & the cover of a tin pail from our stores & the water in two small

earthen mugs which we have with us. There were from 90 to 100 present, besides several dogs. All but the latter were orderly & attentive.

After meeting we passed along a spot of smooth white sand on the beach & were struck with the facility & readiness with which a lad drew with a bit of stick an off-hand sketch of a full-rigged cutter. It w'd have done credit to an accomplished draughtsman. On handing him a pencil & requesting him to sketch a similar one on paper he became somewhat embarrassed & required more time to work with the unaccustomed materials than on the sand. His performance notwithstanding was a creditable one. With proper advantages he w'd unquestionably make an artist.

After prayers in native & Eng. a native leading in the former we retired to rest at 9 & slept tolerably.

The native Ch[urch] members almost or quite without exception maintain family worship.

Wed July 8th 1846. Started a little before 6 & walked 2^m to a few houses on the shore, where we breakfasted in the school house. The path most of the way was on a lava bed immediately on the margin of the sea, the surf dashing beautifully at our feet. Five miles further on we came to *Makuu*, a small scattered village at 9 o'clock AM. Mr Coan held a meeting. Communion, bread in little earthen mug, water in its mate. One infant was baptized. Left about 11¹/₂. Soon met a man who wished Mr Coan to visit a woman who had been 3 or 4 days in child birth & was in danger of her life. She was lying on a mat under the shade of a bread fruit tree. Mr Coan ordered medicine to be sent for from Hilo.

Went on 4^m & stopped to bathe in the surf. While sitting on a ridge enjoying the dashing of the water a swell a little larger than usual came & unseated me & sent me sprawling backwards, doing no other damage however than bruising my head slightly.

Four or 5 miles beyond the Lava flow & 29 or 30 from Hilo stopped for the night at a place called *Koae*, about 5^m inland from the E. p[oin]t of the Island. The people

gave us a hearty greeting, especially Old Abraham, who seems to be a warm hearted Christian & enterprising man. He has a little plantation among the stones & rocks & raises melons, gourds, potatoes, taro, &c &c. A water melon, the first I had tasted on the Island, I found very refreshing.

Thurs July 9th Breakfasted on some stewed fowl, which the native cook had nearly spoild by burning & over-salting. At 9, went to meeting house a few rods from our stopping place. The people had arrayed hastily for a native feast when we sh'd arrive. We found them gathered in the house to the number of 2 or 300, with their calabashes of poi & fish. After a blessing asked by Mr Coan the people proceeded to the work of *fingering* these articles with characteristic gusto. For appearance sake we joined them, tho' we had just eaten a full breakfast. A piece of a S[andwich] I[sland] Lobster we found very palatable.

Several were admitted to the Church & an infant baptized. Mr Coan introduced me to the people & after meeting I was overwhelmed with handshaking & alohas. Meeting closed at one PM. Scandalized the natives by putting on my hat in the Church.

Our stopping place for the night was *Pohoiki*, about 7^m from *Koae* & nearly the same distance S W from the Eastern point of the Island. The natives bro't us the *Ki* or *Ti* root baked. It is very sweet & juicy. There are fine groves of cocoa nuts & the situation of the hamlet on an inlet of the sea is very pleasant. Retired at 9½.

Friday July 10th. Mr Coan began his meeting in the Ch[urch] at 8. There being much preliminary business I did not go in till 9. There were several infants baptized, & I noticed a greater proportion of old people than I had observed before. About 200 were present, mostly seated on the ground, as is usually the case, except in the larger & more central churches.

At 11½ we were again on our way, which still lay along the Coast. *Kauaea*, a pleasant hamlet on a grassy slope bordering on the sea we passed a little after noon.

Here I was much amused at the ingenuity of a native forge, which is now in disuse. Just on the verge of the lava bluff forming the shore is a circular cavity 3 or 4 feet in diameter & about one deep. On the windward side is a small orifice through the wall of the cavity [through] which the strong draught of the Trade winds [blows]. In front of this the fire was kindled & thus blown by nature's bellows. A flat stone served as anvil.

Four or 5 miles from *Pohoiki* we came to *Opihikao*, where we took dinner & were ready for a meeting in a dilapidated schoolhouse or church or both or rather neither (it was so nearly in ruins) where a few people were assembled. The headman of the land at *Kauaea* was introduced to me & seemed to possess the feelings of a devoted Xⁿ [Christian]. He had been a very wicked man, prohibited his people from going to meeting, abused sacred things without stint, called Mr. Coan to his face, liar, thief, villain & all the invidious epithets he c'd master. But towards the close of the great revival he became a convert & has since maintained the char[acte]r of an active Xⁿ [Christian].

We arrived at *Keekee*, where we were to lodge at 7 PM. It is about 4 m. from *Opihikao* & consequently about 45 from *Hilo*. On our way we passed a dense & dark thicket of *Pandanus* trees which was in former times infested by robbers. A turkey or *Kapa*, or any other article of greater or less value could never be taken thro' this place with [out] running the risk of changing hands.

Sat. July 11th. Mr C[oa]n held a little meeting at the door before breakfast. Started on at 7.

After walking 2½ miles over a rough path we came to *Kehena* where Mr Coan held a meeting in the school house, but few present. Among whom was an old man who c'd hardly express his joy at seeing me & learning that I was from America. He thanked God that I had been preserved to get here & expressed great regret that we did not speak a common language. He repeated the text that he s[ai]d converted him or *killed* him—"The hour cometh &c when they that are in the graves &c & they that hear shall live."

This he s[ai]d killed him & then made him alive. It was preached from by Mr Coan at this place, at the beginning of the great revival (1837 or 1838) & seemed to produce a deep impression; several swooned & fell prostrate & about 50 were hopefully converted & have all worn remarkably well.

In passing over smooth plains of lava we noticed various geometrical figures carved by the natives in former times. A circle represented that the person had made the tour of the Island. Two circles concentric that he had been round twice. A semicircle that he had been half round. A circle crossed thus \oplus that he had also crossed over it in two different directions. There was a great variety of other diagrams many of which the natives with us did not understand.

Stopping under the shade of a large Kukui tree to rest we noticed little bundles of stones hung by small strings from the branches. On inquiring the design we were told that it was the work of mischievous boys in order to have them fall on the heads of those who might stop under the tree.

About 8 or 9 miles from our last night's lodging place or about 53^m from Hilo we came to *Kalapana* where we are to spend the sabbath. About a mile before reaching it we passed a long beach of black sand on which the surf broke beautifully. <This was at Kaima?> *Kalapana* is pleasantly situated on the shore, & near a bluff of 20 or 30 ft high which lies to the S. of it & extends along the coast to the next village $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile beyond.

Sunday July 12th 1846 At *Kalapana*. Rose about 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. At 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ went to Sabbath School at the Church, about 130 or 140 children present with their teacher. They looked bright & were much more orderly than many sabbath schools in N.Y. City. Many of them were only dressed in a piece of cloth tied around them (the boys) while others were in *full dress*. Mr. Coan talked to them, asking questions & they answering, promptly & apparently with intelligence.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 the Morning Service commenced. There

were some 5 or 600 people present filling the house. The day was very pleasant. Mr C[oa]n preachd from 2 Tim 2:6 His style is somewhat conversational & sententious. To keep their attention he often puts questions which are answered by individuals of the Cong[regatio]n. This was done this morning by the Children & he seemed to command their attention almost perfectly.

On returning from Ch[ur]h to dine a flock of children came also & seated themselves in a semi-circle around us, watching our operations while dining in respectful silence.

It was in this place that the great Revival in the S[andwich] I^{ds} commenced as far back as 1836. Mr Coan arrived at the Islands the year before, had but just got a smattering of the language & was making his first tour of the Island in company with other brethren. These he left in Kona & came on thro' Kau & Puna alone. In Kau he first began to extemporize in the native language & rapidly improved. When he came to this place he preached a plain sermon on the text "The Wages of Sin is death" [Romans 6:23]. The people became very much affected, thronged around him for instruction, followed him from village to village to attend the meetings & often were clustered by the wayside to meet him as he came along. The awakening extended from place to place until it reached every part of the field. Mr Coan at first did not know what to make of it. He kept preaching plainly & the people manifested still deeper anxiety to hear. Soon they gathered by thousands at the station from all parts of the field & great numbers professed to be converted. Knowing the general cha[racte]r of the people Mr Coan did not admit any to the Ch[ur]h for a considerable time. At length he marked those who seemed to give best evidence of piety & without their knowledge took their names. These he conversed with & examined repeatedly; others were gradually added to his list, till it embraced several hundreds. At length he ventured to take a small number into the church. Others appeared to give equally good evidence of conversion & from time to time after

long delay & repeated examinations they were gradually admitted, until the numbers amounted to thousands. Most of these were taken in after a delay of several months & many of from 1 to 3 years. The preaching during this revival was plain, simple & pointed, & no extraordinary measures were adopted nor anything done with a view to producing excitement. The Church at the Station when Mr Coan took charge of it numbered 23, & in proportion to their numbers the new members have stood much better than the original ones, a larger share of the latter having fallen into sin & come under ecclesiastical discipline. One reason doubtless is that in the early days of the mission the natives were accustomed to use much craft & hypocrisy to gain admittance, seeming to expect from church membership some great temporal advantage. One man in particular afterwards confessed the way in which he got in. He w[oul]d go to the missionary with a present of a fowl, or a pig or some other article, at other times with a "thought," or an expression of feeling or of penitence which in some way he had heard was a preliminary; then he w'd feign weeping & in this way carry on a deep & protracted system of hypocrisy, till the missionary ignorant of the plot & deceived by the favorable appearance gave him admission. Then he became the advocate & assistant of others. They found that he had got in & went to him for the secret of the *modus operandi* & to engage his good offices bringing him all manner of presents to secure his assistance. He of course w'd introduce them to the Missionary & tell a good story in their behalf knowing all the while that he was telling falsehoods. This man was called Peter & in a sense he truly held the keys. Some who had joined Ch[urch] in that way have since been apparently truly converted & made confession of these practices. Of course such devices & the wish to become Ch[urc]h members from mercenary motives have been preachd against & denounced in the strongest manner & the system has long since been broken up. This Peter is now prowling about as a sorcerer & his wife died not long since a very wicked woman.

One of these original members at a meeting in the Eastern part of Puna was during sermon so strongly impressed that he c'd not restrain his feelings & suddenly burst out. He said he felt as if the sword of the Spirit was cutting him thro' & thro' & his flesh was flying every way to the winds. The effect on the rest of the congregation, who were already many of them affected to tears, was like an Electric shock; hundreds burst into wailing so that for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour the preacher was unable to go on with his sermon. At length they began to utter ejaculatory prayer—"Lord have mercy on me." This was sudden, under simple gospel preaching & unconnected with any peculiar measures. This was the first outbreak of excited feeling that had occurred & was certainly spontaneous as no example of the kind had been seen or heard of to lead to imitation. The origin of it was doubtless the same as that of similar [outbursts] in the Revivals of Edwards' day & of later times in New England & elsewhere.

Mr Coan's church now numbers about 7000 of whom 300 die annually, which w'd give for the period of a generation about 23 yrs.

Mon. July 13th 6 miles from Kalapana we stoppd at the little village of *Komomoa* on the sea shore for breakfast which we made much to our gratification on bread & goat's milk a fine supply of which was furnished by the natives.

At 9 AM went to a meeting in the native meeting house or school house, it being used for both purposes. About 70 or 80 present. Communion.

A good-looking young couple presented themselves to be married & yet seemed to be in doubt whether they were ready to be or not. On being questioned the girl said she liked the man & expected to marry him. The mother of the girl was very anxious that the ceremony sh'd take place immediately. The young man said he liked the girl & expected to make her his wife, but was hardly ready to do it just now. Mr Coan advised them to wait awhile. This did not seem to suit—especially the mother. He asked the

girl whether she wished to marry now or to wait. She hesitated, but at the instigation of her mother answered that she was ready now, & on conferring together they concluded to go to the meeting house & be united. This was at the native house where we breakfasted. On arriving at the Ch[urch] & being called upon to stand up they hesitated & it was a large fraction of a minute before the groom got upon his feet. Mr Coan was convinced that the course of true love did not run smooth in this case if it ran at all & told them plainly that he did not think it proper to marry them & advised them to wait a while & consider the matter & then if they wished to be united they c'd go to Hilo & have it done. The Hawaiian damsels seem to have as much taste in these matters as the ladies of more polished lands & allow as large a sway to fancy. They will not marry a man unless they fancy him, & many unhappy matches are made here as elsewhere thro' the interference of parents & friends. Indeed the same is true of the *matrimonial wiles* at Lahainaluna & Wailuku on Maui, where it is the endeavor of the teachers to bring about matches between the pupils of the two schools. But the machine does not work well. Several forced or contrived matches have turned out unhappily. One pupil at Lahainaluna from Hilo took a wife at Wailuku, tho' not the girl of his choice, as that one was useful, with her needle & in other ways & the teachers c'd not spare her; the consequence was that the wife he reluctantly took proved false to him & ran away. The pupils at Lahainaluna at the motion of their teachers w'd visit the girls at the other school, but those selected by them w'd not fancy their choosers, & thus & in other ways unpleasant feelings arose, so that at one time the young men banded together & took a vow that they w'd not go to Wailuku for wives at any rate. Matrimony seems to be a plant of spontaneous growth & will not bear artificial cultivation.

We left this place at 11 AM & soon the country became even more sterile than that we had passed. It is all one lava plain with scarce a trace of vegetation, extending from the sea 3 or 4 miles to the base of the Highlands,

which are also of lava but somewhat more susceptible of cultivation. We proceeded over this plain not far from the shore about 10 miles when we came to the little naked village of Kealakomo, the first human habitation we saw after leaving Komomoa.

Mr Coan's field extends about 10 miles beyond this, tho' Kealakomo is usually his last stopping place as on the present tour. There are but few people in this region, scattered thro' the few poor villages that lie beyond. They are miserably poor & for some time past have been almost in a state of famine. They get their living by fishing, making salt & getting fern roots, & a few potatoes in the mountains.

Their salt works are on the naked lava near the sea the water of which is evaporated in little cups or vessels made of the Ki leaf & holding of course but a minute quantity of water. These are laid in parallel rows over several acres & the water poured into them a little at a time from Calabashes. The process is an extremely slow one, tho' the salt is s[ai]d to be excellent for the table. It is sold at the exceedingly low price of 25 cts a bag which will contain I sh'd judge $\frac{1}{2}$ a bushel or more.

Ellis speaks of Kealakomo as *very* "populous" in 1823. [William Ellis, *A Journal of a Tour around Hawaii*, Boston, 1825, p. 150: "The village is populous, and the natives thronged around us like bees. . . . Multitudes crowded around our hut . . ."] Its pop[ulatio]n must have greatly diminished.

Just before reaching this place Mr Coan pointed out a crevice in the lava by the pathway where a famous robber was slain several years since. In the time of Kamehameha Ist this region was infested by robbers, particularly by one bold & athletic fellow who trained to the business was the terror of defenseless travellers. Robbing at that period was a kind of profession & the robbers trained themselves to various arts of overcoming their victims, by dislocating their limbs &c. An inhabitant of Kohala at the N. point of the Island was waylaid by this man & robbed & murdered. His brother heard of it & determined

on revenge. He was a stout athletic man & skilled in the arts of fighting & grappling with an enemy. Arriving in Kau he made inquiry for robbers & found that the one he was in search of lodged in this vicinity. On reaching Kealakomo, he shaved his head close, anointed his body with oil, threw a loose Kapa over him, took a large bundle on his back & started on alone. He went with a stooping, infirm gait & chewing some red berries which grow in this vicinity he kept spitting the red pieces from his mouth as if spitting blood. It was not long before the robber marked him for his victim & loitering about gradually came towards him. "You seem to be feeble s'd he." "Yes," replied the man "I find myself very weak under my burden & am troubled with raising blood." The robber sure of his booty let the man pass along. The man perceived however that the robber was following him, & watching his opportunity when he was close behind him he suddenly dropped his bundle, threw off his tapa & drew himself up at full length before his antagonist. The robber was taken by surprise, but instantly clinched in & endeavored to put in practice his skill in such encounters. But he found he c'd get no hold of his oily opponent & in the struggle he was soon thrown & his head fell, it is said, into the crevice of the rock which I have noticed & into which he was jammed & beaten by the victorious avenger of blood till life was extinct, much to the relief of the alarmed villagers & of all who travelled this desolate region.

This place, according to our estimates, must be 70 miles from Hilo. Mr C[oan]'s field extends 10^m beyond this or 80 from Hilo by way of the coast. It extends about 40 in the other direction to Hamakua, making in all about 120^m, no inconsiderable parish to travel over on foot 4 times a year.

Tues July 14th Started at 5½ & walked an hour before breakfast which we took on the lava. At 9 we reachd *Kamomoa* about 10 miles from our last night's lodging place & were treated to a plentiful supply of goats milk.

About 2 miles from Kamomoa we stopped to examine

the ruins of an ancient Royal Heiau or idol temple built by Kamehameha I & dedicated to *Kaili* his war god <Spelt Tairi by Ellis [*A Journal of a Tour around Hawaii*, Boston, 1825] (p. 154)>, where human sacrifices were offered. It is situated a few rods to the East of the path on rising ground. Nothing but the stone walls remain. These were entire in the Heiau we principally examined; they were 6 ft thick & from 6 to 8 ft high & built of the pieces of jagged lava which cover the whole region. The dimensions of the Heiau within the walls we found to be 117 by 57 ft. We saw the remains of the principal altar at one end where human beings were once sacrificed and their bodies exposed on a high platform which no longer exists.

The name of the place is *Pulama*, & of the heiau *Wahaula*, which signifies *red* or *bloody* mouthed, probably so named in reference to the bloody rites formerly observed here.

There were two other Royal heiaus on this Island, one at Kawaihae & another near Kealakekua in Kona.

A mile further on we reached the fine bathing place where we had stopped before breakfast the day before. Tho' tolerably drenched by a previous *shower* bath we soon plunged in & enjoyed the luxury of its clear waters. When we came out the children from a neighboring school had gathered about us, & Mr Coan ordering them all to be seated in a row, gratified the palates of the half-naked urchins by distributing among [them] a loaf of cake, which they rec'd as a very precious treasure & ate crumb by crumb as they w'd a little sugar or some other rarity.

Not far from this place lived & died the last Priest & Priestess of Pele, the Goddess of the Volcano. The Priestess died at Opihikao. They were both members of Mr Coan's church & active exemplary Christians to the day of their deaths which happened not far from the same time. The Priest was a tall, rawboned athletic man & confessed when he became a penitent that he had been a man of blood, had offered human victims to the Goddess of the Volcano, had robbed & oppressed the people taking

whatever he wished whenever & wherever he found it; & such was his authority & the fear of the multitude that they durst not resist. Sacrifices of various kinds were offered to Pele by throwing them into the Crater—tapa, pigs, poultry, taro &c &c were thus disposed of in large quantities. The Goddess was supposed to inhabit the fires of the volcano, the fibrous lava was her hair thrown off when she rose to shake her locks. When she plunged into the fiery lake she made it boil with her breath, & whenever she became angry she growled in her fiery recesses & threw out the burning torrents for the destruction of the territory on which her anger rested. There is a larger spice of sublimity in the mythological char[acte]r and performances of this Goddess than of any other of the S[andwich] I. deities. She was the terror of the dark-minded heathen & her priest & priestess were personages of much consequence.

During the Great revival the Priest became another man & made a profession of religion. His character was the very opposite of what it once was. He seemed entirely to forget his ancient dignity & power, was meek & humble & eminently a man of prayer, maintaining the char[acte]r of a devoted Xⁿ [Christian] to the day of his death. The Priestess, his sister was slower in making a profession & seemed to find greater difficulty in ridding herself of her former pride & idolatrous habits. After a time however she united with the Ch[urc]h & maintained an unblemished char[acte]r to the last. Surely such striking changes of char[acte]r from the wickedness of heathenism to the meekness & purity of X^{nty} [Christianity] can be the work of none but the Spirit of God.

An instance perhaps equally remarkable we had before us in the person of our guide from *Kahaualea* (where we bathed & lunched, & fed the 30 children with cake) across the Highlands to *Waipahoehoe*. He is a good looking man, tall & apparently from 50 to 60 yrs of age. He is a member of Mr Coan's Church, very exemplary & very fond of prayer & reading his Bible. He volunteered to conduct us some 24 or 5 miles over a rough & uninhabited district, the

path which we proposed to take from this point till we struck the volcano road at *Kuolo* being one that Mr Coan had never traversed. This man was formerly a murderer. Once returning to his house unexpectedly in the night he found his wife in the embrace of another. Without disturbing them he deliberately struck a light & seizing the man by the throat strangled him on the spot & threw his body into the sea. The other instance was without provocation & connected with the rites of heathenism. He was at Lahaina in the days of heathenism attending a sacred festival where it was customary for each one to eat a portion of human flesh. To procure it he must murder a victim. Near Lahaina was a rill at which the people were accustomed to fill their calabashes with water. Taking his calabash, the string of which he had previously formed into a slipping noose, he proceeded to the rivulet. Soon a man made his appearance to procure water. Marking him our man with the noose approached & saluted him with the customary *aloha* & commenced filling his calabash by the side of his victim. Suddenly with one hand he threw the noose over the man's neck & with the other throttling him thrust his head under water. His victim struggled violently but in vain. After life was extinct he proceeded deliberately to cut off the tips of his ears & nose, a piece from each arm, pieces from each side of the spine & from other parts designated by the rites of cannibalism for his horrid feast. The rest of the body he buried, & taking the fragments they were mixed with certain herbs & eaten by him & his friends in honor of the cruel gods of heathenism. I confess I c'd hardly realize that the now warm-hearted and consistent Christian whose steps I was following had been in days past such a man of blood.

Hundreds & thousands of instances have occurred in these Islands as remarkable as these, & yet some men will say that the Missionaries are doing no good.

Our route from Kahaualea lay northerly, gradually rising. By half past 2 PM we had reached a plantation in an unsettled region where a good old man had been at

work all day putting up a small neat house of *Ti* leaves in expectation that we would stop here for the night. As it was so early we thought it best to go on further, so after eating a pawpaw, we went on about 5 miles further or 10^m from Kahaualea over an exceedingly rough & jagged path & through a dense miry thicket to a small grass shanty, open on one side & half of the two ends, & so low that it c'd only be occupied in a sitting posture. This we reached at 5½ P.M., thoroughly drenched with rain & with our feet sore & lame. We soon kindled a good fire in front of the open side of our shelter & this with hot cocoa, toast &c, soon put a cheerful face upon the matter notwithstanding the drizzling rain around us.

Wed. July 15. We had a comfortable nights rest on the ground, our cheerful fire burning most of the night. After a hasty breakfast we startd in a drenching rain at 6½ for Hilo.

At 11 we stopped half an hour at the little village *Wai-pahoehoe*, about 13 miles from our last nights stopping place. After taking a hasty dinner we again set forward the rain pouring down in torrents & 3 miles further on struck the road to the Volcano at *Kuolo*, about 2 miles from the woods & consequently about 10 or 11 miles from Hilo. The road all the way was very slippery & muddy & the walking difficult & the rain continued at intervals all day. In the woods we found large companies of men at work on the road, straightening, leveling, "*McAdamizing*" & covering it with fern roots which are very durable & make an easy path for the feet. The people are liable to be drawn out on roads & other public works 3 days a week for a month each year, or 12 days a year in all. This amount of labor if properly used w'd in a short time fill the country with passable roads & other improvements. But thro' the ignorance & sluggishness of magistrates & overseers very little is actually accomplished; 100 natives will probably not accomplish as much work as 10 or even 5 Yankee laboring men furnished with proper tools. The work in the woods however has advanced rapidly for a native job. About a mile from the village I left Mr Coan

(who stopped to *unbachelorize* his chin preparatory to reaching *home*) & went on in order to put an end to my wet painful walk as soon as possible & also enjoy a bath previous to the arrival of Mr Coan. I reached Mr Coan's at 4½ PM having been just 20 minutes in limping off the last measured mile, which was probably below our average rate of walking during the day. This w'd give 5 hours or 15 miles from Waipahoehoe & about 12 from Kaolo.

Mr. Coan arrived ¾ of an hour after I did, & an early supper with hot cocoa did much towards relieving our fatigue, tho' to tell the truth, with parboiled, blistered feet & aching limbs, we were pretty thoroughly "used up."

The tour thro' Puna on the whole has given me much gratification. The general appearance & especially the apparent religious char[acte]r of the people exceeded my anticipations.

III.

HILO, KILAUEA, WAIOHINU, KEALAKEKUA, AND
KAILUA

JULY 16 TO DECEMBER 10, 1846

III.

[Hilo] Thurs July 16 [1846]. Dined at Mr Lyman's. Mr Arnold is now there, a young man from R[hode] I[sland] (U.S.) who has been two yrs at the Islands, & who is now making the tour of Hawaii. The day showery. Mr Arnold took tea & spent the Eve at Mr Coan's.

Friday July 31. To day has been observed by the natives as a sort of Fast day, tho' much difference of opinion seems to prevail as to whether it sh'd be a fast or *fcast* day, the occasion of its observance being the surrender of the Islands after their capture by Lord Geo' Paulet. Two services were held in the church.

The day before a native came to Mrs Coan to get her to write down on a slip of paper the times of the services next day so that he might be able to ring the bell at the exact hour as his *watch was liable to stop & he c'd not depend upon it*. This is a fair specimen of the stupidity or thoughtlessness of many of the natives. If he had the *times on paper* he supposed of course he c'd easily be exact in his observances.

Sat. August 1st 1846. Made a pair of wooden clogs shod with iron for lava traveling, & gave them trial by walking in them to the Rainbow falls. They answer a good purpose, altho' from their rigidity liable to lame the ankles. There is but one shoemaker in Hilo & he has neither *leather* nor *tools*; of course some substitute must be found for shoes, which are quickly knocked in pieces by a walk over clinker & jagged lava.

Monday Aug 3^d In conversation respecting the missionaries & their style of living it appears that it has been gradually improving from the first. Comforts have accumulated gradually, & most of them now live & dress as well as most ministers at home. They are obliged to conform in these respect[s] somewhat to the community in which they live, especially where there is much foreign society. Each man has a salary at this mission of 450\$ with an addition for each child. Some live comfortably on this,

while others find it difficult to make the ends of the year meet without getting into debt. Much depends upon individual prudence & economy.

I did not know till told by Mr Coan why Mr Bliss returned home (Missionary at Kohala). It seems he was sent home by the mission for misdemeanors & unministerial conduct, particularly for a quarrelsome disposition & for *beating his wife*, as occurred while on a visit at Mr Lyons', whose first wife was his wife's sister. He was wild, indicreet, fickle nervous & wholly unfit for missionary or minister & was known to be so long before he left home. He could get no employment in the U.S. yet he was recommended to the Board & accepted. They make many mistakes in the appointment of missionaries under their present system. It w'd be much better for them to consider what kind of man they want for a particular place & when they have fastened their eye on such an one give him a call to go, just as churches call their ministers. The spirit which leads men to offer themselves as missionaries is not always the missionary spirit.

Sat. Aug 8th 1846 The Whale ship *Morea*, Capt. Cushman, came in this PM. full, & bound for home, New Bedford.

Sun. Aug 9th. Read the Circular of the S[andwich] I. mission written 1836 by Messrs [Reuben] Tinker, [Sheldon] Dibble &c. It contains many ultra positions & was suppressed in part by the A.B.C.F.M. [American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.]

Saturday, [Aug.] 15th Making preparations to leave on Monday for the Volcano, Kau & Kona. Bro^s Paris & Hunt are going to Kau for their furniture.

It is now nearly two months since I arrived here. That time has gone by rapidly & delightfully. The place [Hilo] is a pleasant one bating the extra rain. Mr Coan's family is a most delightful one. They have been heaping all manner of kindness upon me ever since I came.

[Monday, August 17 to Saturday, August 22, the narrator makes his second visit to the volcano, thence going to Mr. Paris's headquarters at Waiohinu by way of Kapa-

pala, Keaiva, Makaka, Punaluu, and several seashore villages.]

[Waiohinu], Sunday Aug 23^d. Attended Br P[aris]'s meeting in the forenoon. The meeting house is a new one, a few rods from his house. It is built of blocks of lava or stone which being black contrasts strikingly with the white mortar which fills the interstices presenting altogether a beautiful mottled appearance. It has a thatched roof & is in all respects substantially built. It is not yet plastered inside, but when finished will be a handsome & commodious house. It will hold I presume a thousand or more people. There were present today some 3 or 400, the congregation not being as large as formerly, on account of the establishment of meetings at several other out stations.

The people appeared attentive, were mostly decently dressed & some of the women had on hideous apologies for bonnets. There is nothing so out of all manner of taste as putting bonnets on the heads of these females. In their native headdress of full curling hair bound by a cincture of ribbon or a wreath of flowers they look free & in good taste, but an old fashioned, rumpled, dirty cast-off bonnet stuck crown up hat-fashion on the top of the head transforms them at once into hags, resembling the poorest dressed negro wenches in the streets of our cities, or rather in our country towns at home. If they are to have a headgear it ought to be unlike that of the foreigners, but adapted to their complexion & general appearance. Something of the turban sort w'd be vastly superior to the bonnet. Another absurd imitation of English or American fashions now creeping in among the native women is the tight dress. The simple loose dress, which has been worn all over the Islands is easy, cool & very becoming. But put these free buxom savages accustomed to the unrestrained use of their limbs into corsets & they appear like a monkey in small clothes in agony & ill at ease till the offensive encasement is laid aside.

Thursday 27th Making Sundial for Bro Paris.

In conversation I have heard of many instances of the

native superstition respecting the power of one man to *pray another to death*. That this power may be possessed was formerly universally believed, & when anyone died it was supposed that some enemy had prayed him to death, & persons accused of having done so were often in jeopardy of their lives. This superstition still continues in many minds, especially those who are not professors of religion, or well instructed in the truths of the Bible.

So late as last winter after the death of Rev. Mr. [Samuel] Whitney at Kauai one of the first missionaries to the Islands, a man & his wife who had lived in the family 19 yrs, immediately left assigning no other reason than that somebody had prayed Mr Whitney to death & they were afraid if they stayed in the house, the same man w'd pray them to death.

A member of the Church in Kona recently wrote to his pastor that he was in great trouble & wanted his advice, inasmuch as he had been accused of having prayed to death a man who had just died, & was in danger of the confiscation of his property & other punishment for the supposed offense.

In truth the superstitions & habits of heathenism have been so inwrought into the very texture of these people that it will be many generations before they are wholly rooted out.

Offerings to *Pele* are still occasionally made at the Volcano. Bro. Hunt found one there a few months since, consisting of a bundle done up in mats containing tapas & various articles of food.

Sat. [Aug.] 29th In the eve. Jacob my host at Keaiva made his appearance with his son whom a week before I had seen so ill that he could not get up or sit down without assistance. They had walked all the way from Keaiva about 20 miles since morning & the son seemed not to be much exhausted by his journey. He had come for the double purpose of getting medicine & a wife, the girl to whom he was engaged living in a neighboring house. The couple soon made their appearance neatly dressed & were married in due form by Bro. Paris, Bro. Hunt & myself

& old Jacob being the only witnesses. The parents of the girl, tho' living not a dozen rods off, felt too little interest in the matter to honor the occasion with their presence. This is somewhat illustrative of the general indifference which marks the native char[acte]r.

Old Jacob is a firm & consistent Christian, & his pastor always knows where to find him. Before his conversion he was a hardened opposer, & hated every thing good.

Rec'd a line from Bro. Coan with an article or two which I had left at his house.

On Wednesday eve of last week while I was at the Volcano, he saw the light of it very distinctly at Hilo. During the two months of my stay there it was not seen once.

Sunday Aug 30th P.M. went to native meeting, the house filled. It was communion season. Bro's Paris & Hunt talked to the people. The communion furniture consisted of a handsome set of brittania. The congregation consisted mostly of Church members. They appeared sedate & were generally well dressed, bating the burlesque old bonnets.

It was a pleasant sight after service to see the people in their gay colored dresses wending their way home in different directions, many of them slowly climbing the paths up the steep hills on the N.E. One cannot help thinking of the wide difference between these times & those of their old Pagan worship, when their Heiaus were polluted with the blood of pagan offerings & even of human sacrifices.

Thurs. Sept 3^d Took an early breakfast, mounted a fine horse of Bro Paris (the same that I rode from Keaiva) & started for Kona.

About 3 miles from Waiohinu we passed a small village called *Kau* (pronounced *kow*). Two miles beyond we passed Pueo (called the *great owl*) from the numbers of owls that abound here, one of which I saw on the wing.

About 8 miles from Waiohinu we crossed a ridge of low cones & old craters, with 2 or 3 villages in the vicinity.

At 12½ I stopped to dine under the shelter of a block of lava about 16 miles from Waiohinu. While at dinner

a slight shock of an earthquake occurred there being a momentary jar somewhat as if produced by the falling of a heavy body near by.

Starting on at 1, I passed over a rough & sterile country till I entered a forest of ohia & other trees & shrubs which continued about 3 miles to *Manuka* where I arrived at 3½ P.M. In the woods I found plenty of ohelos. It being too early to stop for the night I concluded to push on for *Kapua* on the coast. The road most of the way was no road at all, but an exceedingly blind foot path, winding in various directions among the grass & lava & utterly impossible to follow by any but a native eye. It seemed to grow rougher & rougher, & the path was very little if any "worked" or improved by leveling & laying flat stones to step on. The way seemed long & weary & when the sun had disappeared behind the ocean & the shades of night were thickening around we had but just attained a rough eminence from which *Kapua* was visible still some 3 or 4 miles distant. This part of the journey which seemed uncommonly uneven I was obliged to travel in darkness, the moon the first part of the evening being concealed by clouds.

At 8 oclock I reached *Kapua*, which is rather pleasantly situated on a cove of the sea. It is on one of the clinker-flows & the region around is very rough. I proceeded at once to the beach & enjoyed the luxury of a bath, after which I went to the house where I was to stop near the beach & took my supper & made preparations for sleeping being pretty thoroughly tired.

The distance of *Kapua* from *Waiohinu* by the path which is very crooked, must be 30 miles, perhaps more.

Friday Sept 4th A mile on from *Kapua* we passed the little village of *Koa* & a mile or two further on passing *Honomalino* we came to *Miloli* where there is an extensive & beautiful sand beach covered by a fine grove of cocoanuts. Here I took breakfast under their shade.

Starting on at 7½ I passed the villages of *Kalihi* & at 8½ reached *Hoopuloa* where I purchased some cocoanuts

& found their water very refreshing, as the sun shone hot & the morning was sultry.

In one of the villages in this region I noticed a neat Catholic Church, built in native style with a small cross erected on the front corner of the roof. Another of these Churches I passed 3 or 4 miles from Waiohinu where there are very few inhabitants & probably not half a dozen enter the Church in a month.

After 2 hours & a half of laborious & hot walking I reached at 11½ Kipahoehoe, a small village in a rough lava region about 9 or 10 miles from Kapua.

Here I found myself too lame to proceed with any comfort by land & after taking a bath in the sea & eating dinner I hired a canoe & two men for a dollar to take me to Kealakeakua about 25 miles distant.

At a quarter past 1 the canoe was ready & we all embarked. The launching of a canoe in the surf is a difficult thing & one which the natives perform with great skill. Sticks of wood are laid down a few feet apart from the canoe house to the water & over these the canoe is pushed till it reaches the surf, where the luggage is put on board & then at the right moment in relation to the rollers, which a native thoroughly understands, it is shoved off & the next moment is floating safely in deep water. The wife of my canoe-man, a short fleshy woman, swam out several rods to see us off & while the sail was got in order & preparations made for sailing, she was swimming around, till the light land breeze filling our white cotton sail we shot out of the cove, & the last I saw of the woman she was still in the water paddling towards the shore.

Our canoe was a nearly new one, finely made, about 20 or 30 ft long & in the widest part about 12 or 15 inches broad. It had an outrigger as is always the case with Sandwich Island canoes & one man was stationed on the stick joining this with the canoe to counterbalance the action of the wind on the sail & prevent the canoe's oversetting. My other Kau man with the two belonging to the canoe did the paddling, while a light land breeze shoved us thro the water at the rate of 5 knots or so an hour. The water

was nearly smooth & the trip a pleasant one, bating a little feeling of seasickness which however was not sufficiently violent for the entertainment of the fishes (in relation to human gastronomy).

At Waikakuu there was a native schooner at anchor; she had no name visible. There were here several considerable villages very near together & this part of the coast seemed to be populous. Many of the villages were ornamented with fine groves of cocoanuts & other trees.

At 3^h 45^m we passed Kalahiki, a long straggling village with a beautiful sand beach & extensive cocoanut groves.

Hookena, Kealia, Keokea & other villages of some size we passed before reaching Honaunau, which is an extensive & populous place about 6 miles from Kealakeakua & celebrated for containing in idolatrous times the chief temple for human sacrifices & affording a City of refuge to fleeing criminals or warriors. Just before sunset we entered the beautiful bay of Kealakeakua, shut in on the north by a high steep bluff now green with vegetation & on the south by a low projecting lava flow on which a part of the village is situated. On the east the land rises gradually for a couple of miles as far as the mission houses & then more abruptly to the high lands beyond. The view of the landscape from the harbor, with the steeply sloping hills covered with the bright green of a recent vegetation & the white mission houses at their base, half hidden by trees & shrubbery, was very delightful. Farther down the slope or half way from the beach to the mission houses stands the neat stone church with its plastered walls, a conspicuous object at sea.

Just at sunset I stepped ashore & in half an hour over a rather rough & ascending path reached the hospitable dwelling of Bro Ives who is now the only missionary at this station. A kind greeting, a shower bath, a change of raiment, an excellent supper & after family worship a good bed free from fleas & mosquitoes were all very desirable & delightful.

[Kealakekua] Sat Sept 5 [1846.] Being too lame from my sore foot to stir about I have spent most of the day



KEALAKEKUA BAY IN THE TIME OF CAPTAIN COOK

in reading late Honolulu papers & visiting & writing. Find Mr Ives with a pleasant but partially invalid wife & two sons, one of them laid up by a wound which he had carelessly inflicted on himself with a jackknife. Mr Ives is a native of Goshen Ct., & his wife of North Guilford.

Sunday Sept 6th. Went to Mr Ives's church in the P.M. It will hold, I should judge, a congregation of 2500, tho' the ordinary congregation at present I am told has dwindled down to 100. There were not more than that number present this P.M. although it was their communion.

One reason of the smallness of the congregation appears to have been the dispersion of the people in consequence of the great famine which has prevailed on this side of the Island for a year past. There has been a continual drought during that time, reducing every vegetable substance to tinder, in consequence of which the whole country was overrun by fire.

The natives have suffered exceedingly for want of food & have been obliged to subsist almost entirely on a species or two of roots scarcely fit for food, & the few fish they c'd get from the sea.

It has been remarked that during the famine the natives have been unusually *healthy*, being obliged to be both temperate in the use of food & industrious. A different state of things is anticipated when food shall be plenty again as the natives have no rule for the indulgence of their appetites except the measure of their capacity.

Tues [Sept.] 8th Reading "The Missionary's daughter," or memoir of Lucy G[oodale] Thurston [wife of Rev. Asa Thurston]. An interesting piece of Biography.

The natives employed by the family have to be put on an allowance of food to prevent gluttony. If left to themselves with food in abundance [they] act with the indiscretion of a Boa Constrictor, eat irregularly & to excess, producing laziness & disease. Travelers always complain of the immense quantity of food consumed by their natives. It was so with Wilkes. Douglass says he had 16 men, 5 to carry his luggage & the other 11 their own. He

says that a native will consume his own weight of food in a week. They will however endure the want of food with a good grace. When I have stopped by the way to dine I have seen my men with a contented countenance take from their pockets a piece of *hapu* or fern root and gnaw away at it with as much apparent satisfaction as if it were a lump of Poi; & they bear to be stinted without murmuring, looking upon it as no indignity, but a thing of course.

Wed. 9th Sept. Reading "Hawaiian Spectator" two vol of which were published quarterly in 1838 & 9, particularly Douglass' scientific travels in Oregon, N. California & S[andwich] Islands.

Capt. Cummings breakfasted at Mr. Ives'; he has a store in the village, has been here several months but expects soon to return as this is prohibited by Gov^t from being a trading post.

Thurs Sept 10th 1846 The way names are given by the natives is fanciful & often amusing. The name of a person or thing is usually given from some circumstance or characteristic of it. The name of this plain Kealakeakua signifies "The path of the God" from a tradition that a sort of pathway up the precipice N of the Bay is where a god ascended. The name of "Cotton" (the plant) translated is Cotton Cloth while the name of Brown Cotton Cloth is *Fly dung*, from the specks observed on it, & they know it by no other name. A striped fabric of yellow & white much in vogue here is called "Out of Breath" from the circumstance that when it first made its appearance people ran to the store for it till out of breath, for fear it would be all gone before they could get any.

Lava is Pele's excrement, & many other things are named with a like disregard of delicacy, a thing which with them has no existence. Children are generally named from some personal mark or from some other circumstance. Boki former governor of Oahu [1819-1829] was named from a dog "Boss" that being as near as the natives could pronounce it. A woman recently named her child "Four-inch" from the circumstance that another woman a friend of hers had had a piece 4 inches large cut

from her breast. Some are called by such names as "Little-mouth," "Big-belly," Big-navel & other names often so indelicate & obscene that the missionaries are obliged to refuse to baptize the children by them.

[The natives'] carelessness is proverbial—a week since the native schooner *Clarion* ran on the rocks between here & Kailua on a bright moonlight night. All hands on board having quietly gone to sleep, the helmsman lashing the Tiller to his wrist, even the striking of the vessel on the rocks was not enough to awaken the stupid fellows. The Capt. below hearing the vessel strike, ran on deck & finding all asleep first with his fist very properly knocked over the helmsman, effectually rousing him from his dreams & then attempted to save the vessel, but in vain; those on board got on to the rocks & the schooner was driven & wedged into one of the numerous caverns on the shore where she became a perfect wreck.

Saturday Sept 12th During breakfast David Malo came in. He came in a sail boat & is on a pleasure excursion with 2 or 3 *Hawaiian Ladies*. He appears somewhat advanced in years, has an intelligent countenance, skin rather dark, & was plainly dressed.

I made inquiries of him respecting Hamapatoo the Sandwich Islander who resided some time with Deacon Landfear in Manchester Ct, about 20 yrs since. He had no recollections of such a man. Thomas Hopoo, who was also educated in the U.S. & is now in a store in Honolulu, may know something of him. David Malo is a licenced preacher & is an influential man, popular with the common people, but rather anti Government.

Monday [Sept.] 14th Mr. Hall called at Mr Ives's this PM. He is an American & has spent many years on the Island, has been employed in beef-catching & is familiar with the mountainous regions. When the death of Douglass [in 1834] was known at Hilo he was sent by the Missionaries to the pit to gather information. There had been a heavy rain the day before he reached the place & all tracks &c were obliterated. He obtained the head of the bullock & took it to Hilo. The horns he says were blunt

& nearly an inch through at the extremities, the animal being old. He thinks it impossible that the wounds on Douglass' head especially on the temple, which was about $1\frac{1}{4}$ or $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep 2 in long & half an inch thick could have been made by the horns or hoofs. Davis, at whose house Douglass lodged the night before, affirms as Mr Hall says that he saw Douglass have a large purse of money which he took to be gold. None of any consequence was found after his death. Mr Hall says he has no doubt in his own mind that Douglass was murdered by Ned. The pit he was found in was off from the road several feet. [David Douglas, English botanist, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 15, p. 291. See also Wilkes, *Narrative*, vol. 4, pp. 54, 204-205.]

Tues 15th Sept. My foot not getting any better & Mr Ives with his family wishing to visit Kailua I thought it best to go on to that place & get the medical assistance of Dr. L L Andrews & return subsequently (DV) to finish my visit at Kealakekua.

The morning was cloudy & threatened rain; a few stars were visible & the light of day was just creeping over the mountains. Some little delay was caused in launching Mr Ives's double canoe, but at quarter to 6 we were all on board & put off. We touched at Kaawaroa [Kaawaloa] for Mr Ives to recall a notice of a meeting & also at another village a few miles further on where a good woman brought us some watermelons.

At $10\frac{1}{2}$ ($4\frac{3}{4}$ hours) we landed at Kailua having had a fair breeze the last $\frac{2}{3}$ of the way. Proceeded to Dr Andrews's house a few rods from the water & met with a welcome reception.

Dr Andrews has a 2 story pleasant house, built of stone & mortar & shingled. He himself has been an invalid & obliged to keep the house for a year past or more from chronic diarrhoea. He is now slowly convalescing & is able to ride a mile or two on horse back every day.

Mrs Andrews was a native of Woodbury Conn. & with her sister Fanny Pierce who attended school in New Haven I used to be well acquainted in my college days.

Mrs. A[ndrews] is also a correspondent of F. T. Perkins my seminary roommate. I find it extremely pleasant to call up so many old associations. When in Putney V^t 2 yrs ago it seems also that I chanced to call at the house where Dr Andrews was born & brought up. His father was the minister of the place many years.

Sun Sept 20th After morning service David Malo & [Kapae] representative of the Island in the national legislature called in. They were both well dressed, Malo wearing gloves & straps on his pants. The rep[resentative] is a large fine looking man & sustains a fine char[acter]. Malo is a man of mind & influence, but is always looking on the dark side of things & complaining. Today he was lamenting the condition of the people, the want of care of infants & children, their improper feeding & want of training to habits of industry. He seems to be deeply impressed with the conviction that the nation is destined to run out & give place to the whites. This conviction is growing in the minds of the more intelligent natives, & cannot escape the observation of any reflecting person.

In the afternoon we had religious exercises in the family, it being Dr A[ndrews]'s custom, on account of his children having no English service to attend.

Towards night the *Amelia*, a native schooner, arrived from Oahu, bringing papers &c. A new paper called the Sandwich Island News has been started at Honolulu, edited by Abell De Fiennes & Janion. It is the organ of the Foreign residents & anti-gov^t to a certain extent.

Tues. [Sept.] 22^d Heard of some more characteristic native names (See Sept 10th). The common people often name their children from some circumstance connected with their chiefs. One was named "Four feet" because Gov^r Adams went on crutches. Another "Two Coffins" because a chief was so buried. A man living with Dr A[ndrews] is named "Cape Horn" because King Liho liho went round it. A girl was named "Mrs-Coan-the-woman," another girl "Mr-Jonathan-S. Green," their language & proper names knowing no distinction of sex.

A neighbor's child here is called "Dr. Andrews." A chief having chills, the child of one of his dependents was named "Cold-sickness," &c &c.

Wed. 23^d Sept. While at breakfast yesterday morning a long & loud wailing was heard among the natives in the village, which we soon learned was for joy in consequence of the arrival of friends in a canoe. It was formerly the custom & still is among the older people to set up a wailing both on occasions of sorrow & of joy, & an unpracticed ear cannot tell them apart. On the death of a chief it was also customary to knock out a couple of teeth, a thing which has been practiced very recently at Kealakekua & other places. These remains of heathenism however are fast disappearing.

Thursday 24th Sept. The *Amelia* passed this morning returning to Oahu. Dr A[ndrews] sent off a canoe with a package of letters among which were several of mine for friends in the U.S.

This morning the native cook burnt Dr A[ndrews]'s chicken soup so as to spoil it, but hoping to escape detection she just filled up with water & stewed over again making a mess which for bitterness exceeded any compound on the doctor's medicine shelves. These natives are rarely to be trusted. Mrs A[ndrews] had one who in cooking a turkey poured off nearly all the gravy & ate it herself. Mrs Ives's cook during her illness a few years since, in making chicken soup was in the habit of taking the whole soup himself & then filling up with water & presenting her a weak infusion of chicken hardly distinguishable from the pure element itself. When detected they seem to have little conscience, & attempt to laugh it off. Their sense of gratitude also is often very slight. Dr A[ndrews] had been doctoring a man a long time & furnishing him much medicine gratis, when learning that the man was going to Hilo he requested him to take a letter. The man coolly asked him for carrying it \$1.00. Having hired a man to take a letter to Kau, the man demanded equal pay for bringing back the answer. Innumerable instances might be mentioned of the same characteristic

selfishness. The truth seems to be that their natural conscience & sense of propriety is very weak. They are proverbially a careless, heedless, improvident race. A native can scarcely be taught to prick down a lamp wick; nothing less than a flaming torch accords with their notion of a light.

Sun 27th Sept. 7 AM. Mrs A[ndrews] very ill, much fever. Babe very worrisome. Mary Thurston assisting thro' the day. The two native girls, with characteristic native heedlessness both went off to meeting, tho' they were needed every moment in the house. Natives often take the opportunity when a family is in sickness & distress to leave entirely, utterly regardless of consequences.

Mr Thurston came in the eve to watch part of the night.

Mon. 28th Sept. Foot if anything getting worse. Mrs A[ndrews] very sick, some symptoms better, but still she is in a critical state. Mrs Thurston & Mary helping, also Mr T[hurston] during the night.

Tues. 29th Sept. Mrs. A[ndrews] worse this morning. Early in the night, when her mind was clear, she left messages for friends, conversed on her religious state, & composed her mind for whatever might be the will of the Lord respecting her. About 2 AM she sank rapidly & her mind became wandering; some fatal symptoms also made their appearance. Towards morning she seemed to be a little better. Mr & Mrs Thurston were with her most of the night. This morning her mind was still wandering; her eyes & countenance gave ominous indications that she might never recover. She took little notice of persons or things, & her remarks were very incoherent, running upon family & personal matters. Towards noon appearances were more favorable tho' scarcely enough so for much hope of a favorable issue. Soon after noon she was disinclined to take food or medicine & seemed to be rapidly sinking. All hope was now over & we were looking forward to a speedy termination of her sufferings. By the middle of the PM she ceased to recognize her husband or children, breathed hard, & at just 5^h 30^m PM her spirit took its flight from the body. She died without a struggle.

Her disease was Dysentery. Mr Thurston's family, Dr. A[ndrews] & little George & myself were present. All were deeply affected, but for Dr A[ndrews] & his little boy it was a bitter struggle. Mr Thurston led us in prayer, & sought the Divine presence in this hour of trial.

Wednesday, Sept 30th Spent the forenoon in copying a letter which Mrs A[ndrews] had written to the Doctor's brother in Michigan. It was the last she wrote and Dr wished to retain the original. Mr Hall arrived at 11 to make the coffin, & at 3 PM Mr Ives & his family from Kealakekua arrived, also Capt Cummings.

Thurs Oct. 1st It is just one year since I sailed from N.Y.

To day at 11 AM the funeral exercises were attended at the house in English, Mr Ives making a prayer & Mr Thurston making an address together with a prayer. There was also singing.

A little after 12 the body was removed from the house & further exercises in native held at the church where a large number of them were collected. Dr A[ndrews] was unable to follow the corpse to the grave & I also remained at the house, together with Mrs Ives, all invalids. Soon after the procession left we spent a little season in prayer.

After the exercises I wrote out a few verses headed "Ah wherefore mourn"? which had suggested themselves in part while sitting at the crowded tho' silent breakfast table.

Sat. Oct 3^d 1846 Church fast here in view of communion to morrow. This is a general custom I believe on the Islands.

In the PM a meeting was held at the house for the children of the 3 families here (6 in number). Mr Ives & myself talked to them.

Eve Dr A[ndrews] & Mrs T[hurston] had a long palaver with a native & his wife, endeavoring to strike a bargain to get the wife to nurse Dr A[ndrews]'s infant. As usual with the natives when they discover that their services are in any case indispensable they demanded an exorbitant price; after 2 hours talk the case was still undecided.

Read in Mrs A[ndrews]'s MS. journal a description of her visit to the volcano in 1837. It would seem that then the black ledge was a great deal lower than at present; she mentions that the last part of the descent was very steep & difficult. Now it is as easy as any part of it. She speaks too of the lava near the descending path on the bank 1 or 200 feet above the ledge. This has either been covered up by the ledge or is the lava still visible near the path but only a short distance above the ledge. The bottom of the crater was then generally but a few feet, 10 or 20 below the ledge, & contained several boiling lakes besides the Great one at the SW. It had filled up some 200 feet since Mr Coan had visited it 2 years before. In the eve she counted 100 fires visible in the crater. Now there is but one & that a mere speck beside the fires of the Great Lake. There were also at that time loud noises, groanings, roarings, like the ocean surf.

Sunday Oct 4th 1846 At 11 AM Communion service was held at Dr Andrew's, more particularly for his benefit, it having been a year since he has been able to attend church. Mr Thurston & Mr Ives' families were present, together with David Malo & Kapae (representative of the Island in the Parliament). Dr A[ndrews]'s infant Cha^s Thurston was baptized. Mr Thurston conducted the exercises.

In the PM a long conversation & discussion arose on the Resurrection; glad to find that my vocal organs are much stronger than they have been.

Mon. Oct 5th 1846. Mr Ives & family left for home about noon. Towards night Mr Thurstons family returned to their own house 1/3^d of a mile back of Dr A[ndrews]'s. Dr A[ndrews] & his two children went also, becoming a part of Mr T[hurston]'s family. I also mounted my crutch & for the first time hobbled up the hill to Mr Thurston's.

For 3 weeks I have occupied Dr A[ndrews]'s settee. My foot seems to get no better; how long I shall be confined here is known only to God. I feel thankful that I am

where I can have all needed assistance & the society of kind Christian friends.

My lodging room is a small chamber in the SW corner, the same that Olmsted in his *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage* speaks of as so oppressively hot. That however was when the house had been closed for several months, & before an addition was built on the south, which now screens it in front from the action of the direct rays of the sun.

Tues. 6th Oct. Hobbled a few rods back of the house to the entrance of the cave called *Laniakea*. The mouth is only 2 or 3 feet high, entering in a westerly direction. Shall have to wait for my foot to get well before exploring it. Looked into [Charles Samuel] Stewarts Journal at S. I. [*Private Journal of a Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, New York, 1828].

Reading some in Fitch W Taylor's "Flag Ship" [or *A Voyage round the World in the U. S. Frigate Columbia*, New York, 1840], a very soft writer.

The management of Mrs. Thurston in her family is distinguished for order & regularity. At breakfast & tea, the things are removed from the table by the children & the Bibles brought on while the rest retain their seats. The reading is then done in course & family worship attended. The Breakfast table is spread the evening before. There is a particular place for everything about the house & everything is in its place.

Wed Oct 7th Reading [Richard Henry] Dana's "Two years before the mast" [New York, 1840]. The Capt. [Thompson] spoken [of] who flogged the men so severely & got the nickname of "Spreadeagle," was brother of the Capt. Thompson who was my roommate in the *Mariposa*.

Friday. Oct 9th Reading the Journal of Daniel Wheeler [*Extracts from the Letters and Journal of Daniel Wheeler*, London, 1839] who in 1836 visited the Islands of the Pacific as a sort of Quaker itinerant, having been sent out by the Soc[iety] of Friends in England. He visited nearly all the stations at these Islands & addressed the natives, the Missionaries acting as interpreters. He



EARLY PREACHING IN THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

seems to have been a simple hearted, honest-minded evangelical old man, but exceedingly tenacious of the puerile peculiarities of his sect. He commenced his meetings by sitting a long time in silence till the Spirit moved & gave him utterance. His discourses were mainly quotations from Scripture. The greatest cross he seems to have encountered was attending some sessions of the general meeting of the Missionaries, where he was compelled to witness so many things that filled him with distress. In his farewell note to the Missionaries he exhorts them to follow Christ not only in deed but in "word" that is to adopt the forms "Thee" "Thou" "yea," "nay" &c, & quotes our Saviors declaration "He that denieth me & my words" &c according to which interpretation to neglect this form of expression is to deny the Lord Jesus Christ & come under his threatened abandonment.

The book is a great curiosity. People are always called by their full names without a title—e.g. Hiram Bingham, Titus Coan &c.

Saturday Oct 10th 1846, Kailua. Mr Thurston's.

Reading a fragment of a MSS journal kept by Mrs. Andrews in 1821 when she was 14 yrs of age; she had then just commenced her discipleship apparently & on the first Sab[bath] in 1822 united with the Church. Her journal exhibits great maturity of thought & expression for one of her years. It breathes a deep anxiety to know her duty, & exhibits a lively interest in the condition of the heathen. She often speaks of them, rejoices in every measure for their good, took great interest in a charitable sewing society in their behalf to which she belonged, & even at that early period seemed to be weighing the question of personal duty in regard to going among them. Her mother was a pious woman & she had received a good religious training. She subsequently (about 1832) offered herself to the board but for some reason was not sent abroad; & when the opportunity occurred of going with Dr A[ndrews] she seemed to look upon it as Providential & turned her face towards the heathen with joy & thank-

fulness. She was in many respects a woman of uncommon character & worth.

Sunday Oct 11th Reading Mrs A[ndrews]'s Journal from 1836 to 1841, full & interesting. Read an article in the Biblical Repos[itor]y on Judges 10:12-15, in which the ground is taken & sustained by some weighty considerations that the passage (relating to sun & moon) is no part of SS. [Scripture] but a quotation by some transcriber from the Book of Jasher.

Mon. 12th Oct. At 6, Ther. in my room 71°. Writing letters &c—among the &c some rhymes on “Hawaiian Fleas,” by the bite of which I have so long been laid up. Not very well to-day.

[The rhymes, as subsequently printed, read as follows:

HAWAIIAN FLEAS.

Written after six weeks confinement from the effects of their bite.

All “*pizen sarpents*,” the Paddies say,
Saint Patrick from Ireland drove away;
And Rumor hath it, these “Isles of the Sea”
Are from venomous creatures free.
Yet six long weeks have I kept “the shelf,”
Scarce able to hobble or help myself,
From the Dragon-like bite of what they please
To call in the Sandwich Islands—Fleas!

To be clawed by a Lion or bit by a Bear,
Or snatched by an Eagle aloft by the hair,
Or crushed by an Elephant's huge proboscis,
Or sucked by a Whale down his open fauces,
Or hugged to death by an Anaconda,
Would *not* be a matter of special wonder;
But thus to be vanquished, and left to bleed
By the dirk of a Flea—'tis strange indeed.

But the *Flea of Hawaii* is not the small
“Wee bit of a nothing,” they elsewhere call
By the name of flea; 'tis, in every feature,
An independent and terrible creature,

Armed cap-a-pie, like a knight for battle,
 With sword and bludgeon and harness of metal,
 His weapons all burnished and needle-tipt,
 And thrice in a mixture of venom dipt.

Let a wight once sleep in a native hut,
 And not Gulliver, napping in Lilliput,
 Was e'er so harassed by the evolutions
 And nimble attacks of the Lilliputians,
 As one so caught, by these trained battalions
 Of cut-throat, skip-about, black rascalions;
 If he gets off *alive*, though with wounds overpowered,
 Let him laugh and rejoice that he's not quite devoured.

If the King wants troops that wont prove skittish,
 But will fight like a bear, both French and British,
 And raise the nation, head, neck and shoulder,
 Above all the nations that bully and scold her,
 Let a Bill at head-quarters be at once got through,
 To enroll a Grand Army—as other Kings do;
 But with the *improvement*—to enlist, if they please,
 Instead of *kanakas*, these veteran *Fleas*!]

Tues. [Oct.] 13th Eve. Thomas Hopu called. He is over 50 & an interesting man. He went to the US he says when a boy about 12 & was there 15 years, several of which he spent in sailing from N[ew] Haven to the West Indies. He was 5 times taken prisoner during the last war. He lived sometime in central NY at Whitestown with Gideon Granger. Saw Gen^l Jackson there, who asked him to go with him to New Orleans, undertook to teach him the sword exercise &c much to his discomfiture. At New Haven his home was at Dr Hotchkiss' near the Bank. He has been a consistent & useful man since he returned, & is now one of the Deacons in the Kailua Church where he resides.

I inquired of him respecting the S[andwich] Islander that lived at Dea[con] Landfears. He has no recollection of any one of the name of Hamapatoo, but thinks that

one called Paru might be the man, & that he has been dead many years. The probability is that soon after his return he went back to his old habits & died in obscurity.

Thos Hopu thinks *his age* is 56, but the ideas of the natives as to years are very indefinite; he was in America but 10 yrs, instead of 15½ as he says—probably the 15 yrs is the whole time he was absent from the Islands.

Wed [Nov.] 11th This morning a native schooner arrived from Honolulu & just as we had finished breakfast a great number of bundles & packages were delivered for the Missionaries here. There had been two arrivals from America (the *Henry* & *Gen Harrison*) & the AM letters were numerous, but none for me. Besides the letters there were files of the NY Observer & NY Mercury, the Eclectic Mag., Jour[nal] of Science & other pamphlets, reading in abundance. After a general inspection I began with the latest no. of the Obs[erver] Mar. 14th 1846, & read backward during the day reaching as far as Jan 1st. The Mercury is full of Oregon politics. The day was chiefly spent in reading by all. Besides papers pamphlets & letters a variety of other articles & presents for the children came. Such arrivals at distant intervals create great excitement at a quiet Missionary Station, & I could not help getting somewhat into the spirit of it myself.

Thurs. 12th Nov. This morn. after breakfast I mounted Dr A[ndrews]'s Donkey & rode down to the village & then about a mile down the beach to the south. This is the first exercise I have been able to take in 9 weeks save the hobble some two weeks since which made my foot so much worse as to prevent my repeating it.

Mon. [Nov.] 16. Mounted Mr T[hurston's] old white horse & rode down into the village as far as Mr Rice's. Mr R[ice] came out as sailor in a fur-trader in 1811. The Capt. by reason of the war sold his vessel here & discharged his crew. Mr R[ice] & another on Maui have remained here ever since. He is now a church member.

Tues. [Nov.] 17th. Before breakfast limped on foot down to Dr A[ndrews]'s house but was very glad to ride

back on the horse which was sent down for me. My foot is very weak yet.

Took another ride on the old horse after breakfast as far as the fort intending to follow the beach northward but the stubborn animal thought proper not to go further & after coaxing & whipping to the extent of my ability I was forced to turn back.

Thurs [Nov.] 19. Took a ride on the little donkey, but on reaching the fort he took it into his head not to go any further in the same way & nearly in the same place the old horse did. Two or three natives came to my assistance but coaxing whipping punching poking &c were all in vain; he w'd n't budge an inch, & I was forced to turn back—his mulish disposition was insuperable by all the arts I could command.

Towards evening I made another trial at the same place but with the same success. It appears that he is afraid of water—a sort of hydrophobia—and has set up rebellion at the same place before, there being here a narrow raised path among pools of brackish water.

Wed [Nov.] 25. This morning I made a third trial on Dr Andrews' donkey to pass the pools of water at the fort in order to ride up the beach northward, but with no better success than on the other two animals—the stubborn beast would not “go it.”

Thurs. [Nov.] 26. Rose & breakfasted at 5, & at 6¼ mounted Dr A[ndrews]'s Donkey & started for Keala-keakua alone. The road for the first half of the way is very good lying not far from the beach. About 3 miles from Kailua I passed the pleasant village of *Holualoa*, in the midst of a beautiful cocoanut grove. There is here a small thatched Catholic Church with a little rude wooden cross a few inches high on one end of the ridge, & at the next village, Kaumulumalu, a mile further on I noticed a square pile of rude stone masonry a few feet high near the road with a similar cross attached, this I took to be a tomb & Catholic burial place. Another 2 miles brought me to the large & beautifully situated village of *Kahaluu*. The cocoanut groves are very dense & extensive especially

on the level point of land forming the S. side of the little harbor. At 9. I reached Keauhou 2 miles further on or about 7 from Kailua.

Some 4 or 5 miles beyond Keauhou I reached Mr Hall's place where he has an extensive coffee plantation. His thatched house or rather houses is pleasantly located among beautiful shade trees, among them the Pride of India, Kukui, &c &c. He has many thousand coffee trees & after 5 years labor is beginning to find it profitable.

He has a native wife & a family of several children. His wife is a daughter of Mr Rice of Kailua. Mr R[ice] was formerly intemperate & his family was left to go to ruin. This daughter was particularly vicious. On his reformation from intemperance he set about the reformation & discipline of his family. This daughter, before he could bring her to submission to his authority he was obliged to keep chained by the ankle in his house for some 3 months; at last she gave up & the effect on her subsequent life was very salutary.

After stopping an hour at Mr Halls & taking a bowl of milk & bananas I again mounted my donkey & at 12 startd on for Mr Ives's. About 3 PM I reachd the hospitable dwelling of Mr Ives & was welcomed by his Lady, he himself being about visiting some hamlet on the shore to the northward. He returned early in the eve. The PM was very pleasant & my whole ride cool & agreeable.

Took possession of my old quarters, the pleasant room which I occupied when here before in the S wing of the house—

Mon 30 Nov. Capt Winters & Pearson of the whale ships cruising off the Bay were here at dinner. Both young men, & regular Yankees, tho' from Sag-harbor L.I. Off this side of the Island of Hawaii is considered good cruising ground during the winter months, tho' these ships have taken nothing yet, it being too early.

Tues Dec 1st 1846 Yesterday Mr Ives' double canoe was sent to Kailua for Mr Thurston's & Dr Andrews families according to previous arrangements. About 8 the canoe hove in sight & Mr Ives went to the beach with mules to

conduct them up. None came however, the visit being postponed a week on acct of Mrs T[hurston] having a severe attack of headache. The fine dinner which Mrs I[ves] had prepared was not out of place however for the two whaling Capts. having lost their ships were here with Capt Cummings to dine. The ships (the *Ann Mary Ann* & the *Columbia* of Sag Harbor) were both in sight Mon Eve. but during the night they drifted out of sight & the Capts are both on shore anxious to get on board again. A strong current sometimes set to the northward & ships are floated down, unable to get back sometimes for a week or more. (These had not been seen on Thursday.)

On the top of the bluff about half a mile from Kaawaloa & some 500 feet above the bay we stopped to examine the monument erected on the spot where Capt Cook's remains were burned, or where his ashes were buried, I know not which. In the center of a rude stone wall enclosure a few yards square stands a single post 4 inches square & about 12 or 15 high, supported by a pile of stones at bottom & bearing a small piece of board at the top, on which is nailed a plate of copper containing the inscription—

“In memory of the illustrious Capt. Jas Cook who discovered these Islands AD 1778 this monument is erected by his countrymen.”

As I give this inscription from memory it may not be perfectly accurate. Both the wooden support & the copper plate are thickly inscribed with the names of ambitious visitors.

The monument of Capt Cook is a few rods from the spot at the waters edge where he was killed. It is the stump of a cocoanut about a foot in diameter at top & 15 or 18 inches at bottom & projecting some 3 feet above a raised circle of earth & stones which is some 6 or 7 feet in diameter & perhaps 2 in height. The stump has been tarred over, has a copper cap, & several copper sheets containing inscriptions on its sides. In some of them the letters are formed by dots pricked with a punch, & are almost illegible especially that by Lord Geo Paulet.

The stump is said to be that of a tree near the spot

which was cut off by a ball from Capt Cook's ship at the time of the fatal encounter.

The stone at the water's edge on which Cook fell was some years since taken to England as a memento. All the other rocks around are of the same kind & it will be as easy to multi[ply] genuine relics as for the Catholics to multiply the bones of departed saints.

The spot is one of interest as connected with the early history of the Islands & the fate of a great navigator. But when one thinks of the manner in which Cook allowed the superstitious savages to pay him divine homage, & profited by their credulity it is difficult to shed tears at the sad result of his folly.

Thurs Dec 3^d Started at 7 on Dr A[ndrews]'s donkey for Kailua. The animal was so dull & *Jackassy* I made but slow progress, occupying nearly 2½ hours in getting the first 5 miles to Mr Hall's.

Found Mr Thurston's family as usual. Mrs T[hurston] had just recovered from a severe attack of headache which had lasted several days.

Frid Dec 4th Towards evening visited at the prison near the seaside the man who is to be hanged tomorrow for the murder of a constable who had him in custody for stealing about a year since. The Governor arrived in the *Haalilio* last Friday bringing his sentence & ordering his execution. He is a tall good looking man, was one of the earliest school teachers on the Island, at one time a member of Mr Lyons Church at Waimea & subsequently was taken in by the Catholics. The Catholic priest on being informed of his true character replied that "such men made first rate Catholics." He was lying chained in one of the rooms of the prison, his hands ironed, & his well thumbed New Testament lying near his pillow. A large number of natives who had come in to see him, were in the room, the door being open to everyone that wished to enter. Three or four men were seated as guard on the top of the wall, where the heavy iron chain to which the culprit was fastened appeared to pass over into the next apartment. The man said he had no fears of death, so

far as his body was concerned, but was only fearful he had not exercised saving repentance for his sins. He expressed penitence however & a hope of pardon, through the Redeemer. He was perfectly calm & collected tho' I could not but notice a peculiar restlessness in his eye. The sun just sinking beautifully behind the ocean cast a golden light thro' the grating of his room & he turned over his head a moment to look at [it]. The thought was to me solemn that tho' now in vigorous life, another sunset he would never witness. Mr Thurston offered a short prayer & we left.

The people have already begun to collect from the neighboring districts to witness the execution.

Sat Dec 5th The bay has been whitened all the morning by the crowded canoes coming from distant places along the coast, & the village especially in the vicinity of the prison was thronged with natives. The man was taken to the old governors house in the fort at 10 AM & at 11 the procession marchd to the cocoanut grove on the point about a mile N W of the village where the execution was to take place at noon, a piece of plank being spiked to a couple of cocoanut trees to serve for a gallows. I rode to the place on a donkey passing the prisoner just before reaching the gallows. He proceeded slowly on foot with his head uncovered, surrounded by a posse of civil officers. I rode into the open space near the gallows. A dense mass of natives in every form & color of costume extended in every direction embracing many thousands. The Governor, acting Gov^r & other officers were on horseback just in front of the gallows. When the prisoner reached the ground the rope was adjusted about his neck the other end of it after passing over a pulley attached to the cross piece & through another block near the ground, being held by 12 or 15 constables prepared to draw him up when the order sh'd be given. The man said a few words to the multitude in a firm tone of voice, leaving his love (aloha) to the people & Chiefs & warning all not to do as he had done. After a few remarks & a prayer by Mr Thurston his [head] was covered. The order was given by the Gov^r &

in an instant he was drawn up till the back of his neck reached the pully. He struggled feebly for a few minutes & the scene was over. The crowd which had maintained perfect order soon began to disperse. This place was chosen for the execution because the natives were afraid of his ghost if he sh'd be hanged in or near the village, a superstitious belief prevailing among [them] that the ghosts of persons executed haunt the places where [the executions] occur.

Sun Dec 6th Went to Church this morning. Mr T[hurston]'s Church is a plain well built one of stone with a steeple & small bell. It was one of the earliest erected on the Islands. The congregation amounted to 300 or 400 & most of the people were neatly dressed, a few of them with elegance. Bonnets were more common than I have elsewhere seen them, which I presume is attributable to the exertions of the late Gov^r Adams [Kuakini], he having made it a law that no female should enter the Church with her head uncovered. Most of the women were in loose dresses, which are vastly more becoming to them as well as more comfortable than tight ones, tho' the King in his late visit expressed his desire that the tight dress should be universally adopted. These & the bonnets unless of the best sort & adjusted with more than native taste present a sad spectacle to the eye. Bustles they have not adopted yet.

Tues [Dec.] 8th. I went to the beach at 10 AM the men having preceded me some time to get the canoe in readiness. The canoe however I found high & dry on the sand & the men feeding on fish & poi at the house of the Deputy Governors near by. It is a neat thatched house, & under its piazza, in the cool sea breeze I took a seat till the canoe sh'd be ready. The wind however was dead ahead & rising so that the whitecaps soon made their appearance on the ocean. The new deputy Gov^r had just been bathing in the surf & was on the rocks a few rods off wiping and drying himself—a boy acting as his attendant carrying him his clothes, napkin &c &c. His wife meanwhile came from the house, bade me aloha, & sat down on a low stone wall

under the shade of a pine tree playing with a smart big-bellied urchin & talking & laughing with some natives present & reclining in the same shade. She is a tall firmly formed & noble looking woman with as pleasing & dignified a countenance as I have seen on any woman at the Islands. She appeared comparatively young & was dressed in a loose calico gown after the native fashion, with large Gold ear-drops in her ears & a yellow wreath around her neck; her full head of hair was loose & flowing. The rocks near the house were soon covered by a troop of bathers, mostly girls, who by the aid of calabashes in their hands had swam across from an opposite point. They soon, most of them, stretched themselves like seals, on the black lava with their backs exposed to the meridian sun in order to rest & dry themselves. It seemed to be to them a great luxury. Some of them had slipped on their single garment, & the others were still stretched at full length on the rocks when I left.

As the wind seemd to be blowing almost a gale from the south, so that it was impossible for the canoe to put out I returned to the house, and immediately after dinner $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12, started on Dr A[ndrews]'s Donkey by land.

I succeeded in getting the animal along at a much better rate than heretofore. I was 2 hours with good road to Keauhou, $1\frac{3}{4}$ up hill & difficult, to Mr Hall's, 1 with good road to Kaapahu & nearly another down the precipice to Mr Ives', where I arrived a little after dark. Here I found Mr Forbes of Lahaina & a line from Mr Hunt.

Wed. 9th Dec. After breakfast went to the beach & had my luggage taken from the canoe which had just landed to Capt Cummings' store in the village. Capt C[um-mings] with his vessel, a whaler, at the Marquesas Isl^s a year or more since & has been here most of the time subsequently; he does a little business in a native storehouse, but the shutting of the port by Gov^t has nearly destroyed his prospects of doing much here & he is now waiting to see whether the restriction is to be taken off as Dr Judd has promised.

At his store I was introduced to the Deputy Gov^r Kapa-

cau who with the Gov^r came in a boat from Kailua & landed this morning. He is a man of prepossessing appearance apparently about 35, & converses in English with a good degree of fluency. While at Lahainaluna where he spent 4 years he was distinguished for his skill in engraving, & some of the maps & pictures published at that place were executed by him.

From Capt C[ummings]'s I walked a few rods to the village of Kealakekua strictly so called, a small hamlet at the head of the bay & just under the bluff which rises from the water towards the N. In a small grove of cocoanuts I noticed 3 trees pierced with open holes 2 to 4 inches in diameter, a few feet from the ground. These holes are said to have been made by balls from the cannon of Capt Cook planted on the Heiau a little to the North. That heiau still remains & is the one which appears in the picture of the Bay in [James Jackson] Jarves' History [of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands, Boston, 1843], which picture was copied I suppose from that in Cook's voyages. At this Heiau Cook was worshipped as the God Lono.

Thurs. [Dec.] 10th Ascertaining that the *Keoua* w'd touch here & at Kailua today, Mr Forbes & myself started this morning at 8 1/3 for the latter place, which on the whole I was not sorry for as it gave me an opportunity to pass for a few miles through a new region of country &, especially, by the old crater on the coast. The road, which is most of the way a very fair one for horses, passes just in the rear of this hill, which is apparently 300 ft high & 60 or 80 rods in diameter. Just south of the hill is the village of Nawawa, on the N side of it that of Hokukanu & a little beyond Kainaliu where we saw our vessel the *Keoua* putting in for passengers, this being the Capt's residence. He is a deacon of Mr Thurston's Church. About half way between the hill & Keauhou we passed the battle ground [Kuamoo] where the forces of Liholiho under Kalaimoku [or Kalanimoku] obtained the victory over the rebel forces under Kekuokalani & decided the fate of Idolatry in 1819. Some intelligent lads pointed out the spot where Kekuokalani was killed, & where the

bones of the slain were deposited. It is a rough region of lava & would be a poor place for a battle for any but Hawaiians.

We reached Keauhou at 11 ½ & Kailua at 1 PM where we found the people all as well as usual & in a short time a good dinner in readiness for us. The sky being cloudy we escaped both sun & rain, though between Keauhou & Kailua the ground had been wet by a heavy shower.

IV.

MAUI, OAHU, AND KAUAI

DECEMBER 11, 1846, TO APRIL 25, 1847

IV.

Frid [Dec.] 11th This morn. the *Keoua* was off the harbor & sent in her boat for us. Dr A[ndrews] concluded to go to Lahaina & by ten we were all in readiness & took leave of our friends at Kailua.

I have been so long there & experienced so much Xⁿ [Christian] kindness & sympathy from them all that I had become much attached to them & parted from them with deep regret. Notwithstanding my lameness my long stay in Mr Thurston's & Dr Andrews' families was very pleasant, & I trust not unimproving. Dr A[ndrews] rode to the beach. Mr T[hurston] accompanied us thither also. At 10½ we put off in the schooner's boat the vessel having drifted several miles towards Kawaihae there being no wind. In about 2 hours we reached her having rowed 7 or 8 miles.

Here we soon found ourselves pleasantly accommodated for a native vessel. The *Keoua* is one of the largest of these vessels, some 120 tons, has a small house on deck, furnished with a comfortable matrass for sleeping & has with all a very clever Capt. Capt Martin is Eng[lish] by birth, his father having been the son of a Scotch planter in the West Indies & his mother the slave of his grandfather. By her his father had other children & took good care of them while in the W[est] I[ndies]. He afterwards married in Scotland & when this son of his finding his way thither, presented himself the father utterly disowned him as is usual in such cases. He became a sailor & deserted at the Islands many years ago. He was formerly intemperate, & for a year or more totally blind. He recovered however, reformed, became pious & is now one of Mr Thurston's deacons. He by his own means & by his influence built a church in the place where he lived 8 or 10 miles S. of Kailua, & preached in it himself. He proves himself a consistent active Xⁿ [Christian], has prayers on board his vessel morn. & eve, & on the Sabbath reads a sermon or gives a religious address. He is very

accommodating & kind to passengers & always gives up his own house on deck to foreigners.

Sat Dec 12th By daylight we were within a few miles of Kawaihae where the Capt was to leave us with a boat & some passengers.

About the middle of the PM we were abreast of Kawaihae & the Capt & passengers left. About 4 PM we had reached the west point of Kohala & took the sea breeze shaping our course for Lahaina. By 2 AM we were under the lee of the Island of Maui, & were soon standing in for Lahaina which we were nearly up with by day break. But the breeze being light the 2^d mate a Kanaka who had charge of the helm let the vessel fall off 2 or 3 miles after she was within two of port. As soon as it was light Mr Cooper the mate had the boat got out to send us ashore with what baggage we could not leave till Monday. We put off from the vessel at 20 minutes past six & having 5 or 6 miles to row did not get in till after 8.

As we landed on the beach we saw nobody but Mr Swinton the prefect of police who of course was on an official look out. In a few minutes we were in the comfortable & pleasantly located dwelling of Mr Forbes a few rods from the water. Our arrival took Mrs F[orbes] quite by surprise.

I here found letters from Mr Trumbull of Valparaiso, Mr Parsons of the *Mariposa* & Mr Dole of Oahu but none from home. Mr D[ole]'s, dated a month ago, urges me to undertake something in the way of teaching for the benefit of the residents at Honolulu. But I find by the papers that a Mr Wilcox from Conn. who came out recently in a whaleship has undertaken a school there.

Mon. Dec 14. Dined with Mr Baldwin whose domicile joins that of Mr Forbes, & is equally pleasantly situated. Mr B[aldwin] has a wife & 5 children, the eldest a lad of 12 or 13 apparently. Was gratified at finding here the Jan & April Nos of the *New Englander*, which seemed almost like seeing home, especially when my eye rested on an article [in vol. 4, Jan. 1846, pp. 113-127] on the *Vestiges of Creation* by my friend Strong of New Haven.

In the PM Mr Alexander kindly called for me & I rode to Lahainaluna on a horse which Mr Hunt obligingly sent down for me.

Was rec'd with great cordiality by Bro Hunt & his excellent Lady.

In the eve. attended the usual weekly social prayer meeting of the two families here at Mr Alexander's a few steps distant. It was an interesting occasion, the more so to me as I learned that there has been for some time a work of grace going on among the boys of the Seminary. It began several months since very silently, & became known in this way—One of the boys became serious & for a place of retirement went alone into the Chapel to pray. Not long after another boy went there for the same purpose. A mutual explanation led them to meet together afterwards in the same place. Soon another boy came on the same errand, & after a time the number increased to 10 or 12. They were conversed with by their teachers, several indulged hopes, a regular meeting was established & soon Mr Alexanders house was daily thronged by the anxious. Mr Hunt was then absent on Hawaii (Sept). The work has been gradually & silently going on since; 8 or 9 are now propounded for the Church at the next communion. This religious interest awakened in some of the boys a spirit of opposition, & in two or three instances the length to which they were led to go in scoffing & opposing those who were serious produced alarm in their own consciences & was the means of their hopeful conversion. One young man called to see Mr Hunt this eve in deep distress of mind who a few days ago was very bold & open in his wicked hostility. He had gone so far as to alarm himself; had said to one who was serious that he did not wish salvation but expected to have his soul toasted in hell, & immediately became alarmed lest it shd prove true.

Tues Dec 15th 1846. Rose soon after daylight & with Messrs Alexander & Hunt took a delightful ride on horseback along the base of the hills back of the Seminary. We first rode up the hill to the cottage formerly built & occupied by Mr Dibble situated on the side of the mountain

1500 ft above the sea (900 above Lahainaluna). This residence was doubtless the means of prolonging the life of Mr D[ibble] while declining of pulmonary consumption. The great objection to the residence is the difficulty of procuring water which has to be brought from a distance up very steep precipices. The hill which rises back of this cottage on the flank of which it stands is called M^t Ball. The top of it is 2100 ft above the ocean.

At 10 I attended a recitation of Mr Hunt's class in Trigonometry at the Seminary. The class assembled in the large school room in the center of the building to the number of 15 or 20. They were all dressed in shirt & pants & some with additional garments, their hair well combed, & all of them neat in their appearance. They were apparently lads from 15 to 20 nearly full grown, & they exhibited much intelligence in their countenances. The students of this Seminary being selected from all the Islands are of course on an average above the ordinary level of the natives as to char[acte]r & intellect. The recitation in Trig^y so far as I could understand was very creditable. They seemed to have a good theoretical knowledge of the methods of ascertaining heights & distances & were very quick at figures & in looking [up] Logarithms from the tables.

Wed Dec 16. Rode with Mr Alexander to Lahaina & dined at Mr Forbes'.

One of the leading natives of the place & a public officer was pointed out to me & mentioned as having been formerly cook in Mr Andrews family (Judge A[ndrews]'s). Many other common natives who have been cooks & servants in missionaries' families, have obtained a stimulus & acquired habits of enterprise, which have raised them above their fellows & given them some of the highest offices on their respective Islands.

Mr A[lexander]'s opinion is that licentiousness on the Islands & especially in the ports can hardly be said to be on the decrease, rather the contrary. There is a vast amount of impurity. Hawaiians as a people have almost no sense of shame or modesty & will do anything for

money. Hundreds & thousands of girls, the finest in the Kingdom, come to Lahaina & Honolulu from all parts of the Islands solely for the purpose of prostitution. Here in consequence of disease a great proportion of them make their graves. Others go back to their homes, & spread the infection in every direction. Such is the drain of women for this object that some lands on Hawaii it is said are entirely destitute of them. The public officers are as vigilant as possible & do all in their power to prevent their going on board ships or coming in contact with sailors. But in many cases it is said husbands & parents connive at the wickedness letting out for money their own wives & daughters. Many of the foreign residents here are of the most corrupt class & act as pimps for seamen & sea captains. Some of these are would-be respectable merchants & are supposed by their friends at home to possess char[acter]s above suspicion. But their debaucheries are often carried on with the most unblushing effrontery. Only 2 weeks since 20 girls were taken from the house of one of the merchants here & marched off to prison. Prostitution is carried on in the houses of these men in open day. They themselves, when implicated of course pretend utter ignorance of the whole matter. One of these is E. S. B. of N.Y.; he has been dismissed from the Ch[urch] in Honolulu & is said to be running a wild course of profligacy & debauchery.

Thurs Dec 17th Started from Lahainaluna at 6¼ AM with Mr & Mrs Hunt for Wailuku. Stopped in Lahaina at Dr. Baldwin's for his daughter Abby & were off a little after seven taking our course eastward along the seashore. Three of the seminary boys accompanied us to carry baggage & the baby.

Six miles out we passed the little scattered village of *Olowalu*, & after a ride of 12 miles, at 9^h20 we stopped under the shade of a large tree to take our breakfast, having taken only a lunch of bread & milk before leaving Lahainaluna. There are no houses here but the place is called *Papalaau*. A company of natives were under the tree when we arrived. Here we waited an hour & a half

for the food & babe to come up, seating ourselves very comfortably around the large stones that lay strown about.

At 11 we again started on, commencing here the ascent of the mountain. The route continues easterly, but is one of the roughest & most difficult imaginable. It is all the way, zigzag & winding, up steep rocky & barren precipices, being in places dangerous on horseback.

Once in ascending a steep pitch on the side of an abrupt declivity my horse lost his foothold & all four of his feet slipping from under him, brought him on his side against the side of the hill. Springing instantly from his back & holding on by the Bridle I assisted him in gathering himself. Had I retained my seat we should inevitably have rolled down a steep declivity of several hundred feet.

We started from the top at 1 PM & reached a little conical hill at the bottom on the plain at 2. From the top of the mountain, Mauna Haleakala 10,000 ft high on East Maui presents beautifully its broad dome, covered with little projecting cones & partially enveloped in fleecy clouds.

The distance over the mountain is about 6 miles. East & West Maui are separated by a low & nearly level plain about 7 miles broad from sea to sea & somewhat more than this in the direction at right angles or between the mountains. A carriage road extends entirely across, the longest & levelest carriage road I have seen on the Islands.

Across this neck we galloped in $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours—7 miles. The Southern part of it is entirely destitute of vegetation, but within 2 or 3 miles of Wailuku it is covered with a fine grassy carpet. *Waikapu*, a pleasant & rural looking village on the plain we passed a mile & a half or two miles before reaching *Wailuku* which we did at half past 3, the whole distance from Lahaina being not far from 25 miles. Wailuku is a village beautifully situated on the N W part of the plain near a fine stream of water which issues from a romantic valley in the mountains to the S.W. of it. A warm welcome from Mr Bailey & his lady & a cold bath seemd to divest us of half our fatigue. The Mission

Premises are beautifully situated—large gardens & yards filled with a great variety of flowers & shade trees make the place attractive to the eye, & exhibit the taste & industry of the occupants. Mr Clark's premises are separated from those of Mr Bailey by a single *adobe* wall. All the walls here are of *adobes*= ie blocks of mud mixed with dry grass. They are very neat, & last when well made many years.

Mr B[ailey] has partly surrounded his lands with a hedge of the Cactus. He has a workshop, with a water power, for a turning lathe, mill &c &c.

The Buildings of the Female Seminary are built on two sides of a beautiful grassy square, one side being a line of one story sleeping apartments, the other embracing the schoolroom which is neat & well furnished, together with the dining hall & other rooms. The number of pupils is about 50. They are a healthy good looking set of girls & seem to appreciate & improve their advantages. I was in at eve. prayers.

Friday Dec 18th In the PM Messrs Bailey, Clark, Hunt & myself, with several of the Children took a delightful ramble up the romantic valley of the Wailuku 3 or 4 miles into the mountains. At the extremity of our walk we were near a sharp steeple-like, isolated peak, running up some 2000 ft into the air, appropriately called the Needle.

As Mr Hunt & myself were to leave for Lahainaluna on the morrow the girls of the School brought in a great number of letters, many of them for their *sweethearts* among the L[ahaina]luna scholars. The two schools were originally designed to furnish partners for each other's members, but for some reason or other the plan has not hitherto been remarkably successful, not more than 15 or 20 couples having made matches in all. A few weeks since Mr Alexander brought over the entire Senior Class of the Seminary for them to make a selection of wives. In the course of a few days 3 or 4 became engaged & many more formed acquaintances & opened a correspondence. Many of the letters which Mr Hunt now had to carry were the result of this visit. The girls seemed to be in fine

spirits but hardly as timid in reference to such matters as Yankee young ladies would be. They generally show their love letters to their teachers.

Sat 19th Dec. Some appearances of rain in the morning: nevertheless we ventured to start after breakfast for Lahaina around the N & West sides of the Island. One of the boys of the Seminary who came out with us accompanied us on horseback. Our route lay along the coast to the N W. In half an hour we passed the fine stream & village of *Waiehu* & at half past 9 those of *Waihee*, after which our path turned inland over the hills & became more difficult. We crossed several ravines 2 or 3 of them very steep & troublesome on both sides, obliging us to dismount & lead our horses.

At 20 minutes past 12 we reached Kahakuloa about 15 miles from Wailuku.

On reaching a high table land 2 or 3 miles in extent we stopped & took our frugal lunch of bread & butter & some bananas which a good old man at a little hamlet we had passed had been so kind as to furnish us for the love which he bore to missionaries & their friends. He seemed delighted to see Mr Hunt & pressed him to stop & preach to them. When Mr H[unt] bid him *aloha* on leaving, the old man said briskly, Stay till tomorrow & preach to us and then it will be *aloha*. On being told that I designed returning to the U.S. he expressed his desire that I should stay, & as he expressed it, Pray & pray & pray with them.

At 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM we reached the village of *Honokohau* on a pretty little stream by the sea at the bottom of a deep ravine. Here we met by a native house the French vice consul at Lahaina whose first remark was that he had come out to shoot ducks! Not knowing who he was I supposed him from his appearance to be some foreign runaway sailor, till we had passed & I had learned from my companion his official char[acte]r.

In the next valley, two or 3 miles further on, were his companions B—, W—, &c &c. Their tent was erected in a native yard. The truth is these men are in the habit of coming out every week to this retired nook for the

purpose of hunting, but more especially for the purpose of dissipation & licentiousness. On our way we afterwards met natives carrying out their stores to them. They spend the night here & ride back to town on Sat afternoon. Of course among Hawaiian females with a profusion of money they find little difficulty in obtaining objects for their lust. Sometimes however they are foiled—Mr B. on one occasion lately offered 30 dollars to a native in vain. She spurned his advances. Considering the prevalent Hawaiian sin, it is not strange that with such foreigners to swell the current of vice it is difficult to establish among the natives a high standard of morals. The char[acte]r of these men & their wishes being known among the natives abroad, those females who are disposed to profit by it easily make their way to Lahaina & there add to the mass of corruption that already exists.

The village of Honolua, where the tent of these revelers was pitched is beautifully nestled in the bottom of a grassy valley through which runs a clear stream of water.

Honokahua a few miles further on is another place similarly beautiful.

We reached Kahana the station where Mr Hunt preaches on the Sabbath at a quarter past 5. It is a delightful place 7 miles from Lahaina. A little after sunset we passed Honokowai where there is a stream of water. The last 6 or 8 miles before reaching Lahaina our road was near the sea, entirely level & excellent for horses. It soon grew dark & the last 3 or 4 miles after passing a singular conical mound or hillock by the water to the right we were scarcely able to see our path. At length however we entered the town.

A little after seven we reached Br Forbes' & after stopping a few moments to deliver letters &c we proceeded up the hill to L[ahaina]luna where we arrived tired & hungry soon after eight, having ridden during the day not much less than 40 miles.

Sun. Dec. 20th 1846. Rode down to Lahaina to attend meeting at the seamen's Chapel, a neat stone building, the upper room of which is used for the Chapel, the lower for

a reading room. The audience numbered not more than 20 or 30, there being no ships in at the present time. Mr Forbes preached from Acts 26-9. Mr Richards was present. Returned to L[ahaina]luna immediately after meeting. Read the Address of A A Phelps in a Syracuse paper attacking the A B C F M, a tissue of misrepresentations & the Speeches of Stewart & others in the convention still more so.

Returning through Lahaina saw many natives coming from the Catholic place of worship, which is an old bowling alley fitted over. The Catholics are working hard & slyly. They have abandoned the threatening system, which they pursued before the treaty with France.

A letter has just been rec'd from Mr Lyman of Hilo by the teachers here which illustrates native ingratitude. One of the students from Hilo who has spent 4 yrs here gratis & become fitted to preach the gospel writes to Messrs L[yman] & Coan that he will not go to Hilo to labor unless they will pay his expenses down for himself & family & even then that he should stay there but a little time. Of course the missionaries will not comply with his demand. He seems like most of the natives to take it for granted that they are entitled to all they receive gratis & that the missionaries are under obligations to labor for them. It was gravely discussed by the boys in the School not long since whether a teacher in the Sem[inar]y had a right to be absent in term time? Ingratitude has always been noticed as a trait in Hawaiian char[acte]r.

Mr. A[lexander] states that formerly at Honolulu before pants came into general use among the natives, those who took in clothes of Foreigners to wash made quite an income by hiring them out to unpantalooned & unclothed natives to be married in, the owners of the clothes being ignorant of the whole matter. Thus many a native who had scarcely a shirt in the world was able for a small sum to appear in a fine fashionable suit at his wedding.

Wed Dec 23 One of the judges of the Supreme Court at tea, a good looking fat native & quite polished in his manners.

Thursday Dec 24. Projecting the survey &c &c. The stones & earth in this vicinity appear to be highly magnetic. At some points in making the survey, a deviation of the needle was noticed to the amount of six or 8 degrees within a space of a few feet, the disturbance being generally greatest in the vicinity of rocks. The rocks are a blackish or reddish lava, decomposing; the soil very red. The magnet will collect the earth & sand as it would iron filings.

Mr Hunt left this morn. early for Wailuku; removed my quarters to Mr Alexanders.

PM rode with Mr A[lexander] to Lahaina, called on Mr. & Mrs Richards, their daughter very sick of fever.

Called on the Gov^r of Maui, John Young, Mr A[lexander] having some business with him. His father was an English sailor, made a high Chief by Kamehameha Ist—the Gov^r has much of the English look. He was in his house in the fort. We found him seated at a table with 2 clerks in one corner of a large unfinished & rough looking room, a native in another part of the room ironing clothes & other natives being variously engaged in that & an adjoining apartment of which the doors were thrown open. The Gov^r is affable & pleasing in his address. Mr Alexander speaking of me & mentioning the cause of my lameness he seemed to think him joking or speaking parables. We remained but a few minutes, & soon returned to Lahainaluna.

Mon. Dec 28. A boat with natives going over to Molokai to the New Year's feast was upset last Friday in the Channel & 5 drowned. The natives are often very careless on the water. Dined at Mr Forbes'. Mr Richards in after dinner.

Tues. Dec 29th The natives are remarkable swimmers. A girl and her father, an old man were among those precipitated into the Channel between Maui & Molokai last week. The old man told her he could not survive & urged her to save her own life; she w'd not leave him, but taking him in her arms swam 6 or 8 miles & reached the shore in

safety herself, but the old man was dead, from chilliness, & remaining too long in the water.

Mr Baldwin mentioned a woman now living in Lahaina who many years ago swam & floated about 40 miles. The case of those wrecked in 1840 between Maui & Hawaii was remarkable, one woman having swam 25 miles.

It is noticed that in such cases the women are much more apt to survive than the men.

A native sailor who had shipped on board a whaleship had to be watch[ed] & guarded by the Captain till the ship was several miles at sea. When 15 miles out the Capt told the man that if he chose to go then he might. The words were hardly out of his mouth before the fellow darted over the ships side & paddled like a fish towards land, but he was soon brought back by the boat, notwithstanding the Capt's promise. He had no expectation his offer w'd be so readily accepted.

PM rode with Mrs. A[lexander] to Lahaina. Mr. Forbes & family left this PM to go to Kahana to lodge for the purpose of going by canoe tomorrow to Molokai. The King went this morning in the *Kamehameha*, to be present at the School festival New Year's. Were it not for missing the chance of going to Honolulu in the *Keoua* in which my passage is already engaged & which is expected every day from Hawaii I would go over myself. But this consideration with the disagreeableness of canoeing decide me to postpone my visit to Molokai till my return to Maui.

Thurs. Dec 31. At eve commenced a Dust blow, the wind high, & the air filled with dust from the hills back of Lahainaluna. All the region back of the Seminary is barren, fine & of a red color. When I went to bed I found the floor, bed & furniture of the room covered with a thick layer of dust. Barricading the door, & shutting the windows as tight as possible I turned in. The mosquito curtains being rather thick diminished the evil somewhat. But still great quantities of dust blew in by every crevice in the room, & enough got within the curtains to irritate my throat & nostrils, & make mud about my eyes; the

pillows were covered & the roaring of the wind & the dust kept me from sleeping many hours of the night. When I arose in the morning of

New Years Jan 1st 1847 the floor & everything in the room were almost concealed in dust, & in places it lay in drifts about the room like snow when blown in through cracks. Even the closets were filled; nothing escaped. I found two or 3 waters necessary to clear my face of it, & the lather on shaving was red enough for paint. In the rest of the house I found all hands busy with brushes & brooms clearing out the thickest of the dust preparatory to breakfast, & so charged was the air with it that before breakfast was over I could write in distinct char[acte]rs in the dust settled on the plates & other dishes. The house & everything in it looked as though it has just been dug from the bowels of the earth.

The Seminary at Lahainaluna contains at present about 60 scholars. The regular course of instruction is 4 years, many remaining 6 or 7 years especially those who study theology.

A certain proportion of each new class is received from each Island, the most promising boys being selected by the pastors in their several fields. Of these many after a few weeks trial are sent back for incompetence, & others are sent away for various reasons.

Remaining wholly on Charity, they are of course wholly subject to the authority of the School, & are a well behaved & docile set of boys, much more so of course than the average of the native youth.

They raise much of the vegetable food they consume themselves in a valley near the Seminary.

There is at present a class of eight in theology under Mr Alexander; 3 of them will go out in April to try their gifts at preaching. The lands of the Sem'y extending some two miles along the base of the hills were given by Gov't as an endowment of the institution. Otherwise it is supported by the A.B.C.F.M. & at great expense. A water course is at present constructing to bring the water from a stream at the bottom of a valley 200 ft deep or more to

water the lands back of the Sem'y in order to prevent the dust which is now so annoying.

The *Keoua* came to anchor this noon & towards eve I bade good by to Mr A[lexander]'s family & rode to Lahaina. Took tea at Mr Baldwins & about 8 oclock went on board with Dr A[ndrews]. The vessel was crowded but the Capt. & Mate gave up their berths & we were quite tolerably accommodated. The vessel set sail a little before midnight & soon we were in the Channel with a fine breeze; the vessel rolled badly & my feelings were anything but comfortable.

The house on deck which we had coming to Lahaina was now occupied by a part of the Capt's family, his daughter, a buxom bronze beauty of 20 being on her way to Oahu to marry a husband a native of about twice her age.

Sat. Jan 2^d A little before 11 AM the vessel cast anchor in the outer roads at Honolulu & soon Dr A[ndrews] & myself engaged passage in a shore boat & put off with our baggage landing about noon.

I soon made my way to Bro. Damon's & found a kind reception.

My fare from Hawaii was 5 dollars + 25 cents for going ashore.

Sun Jan 3^d 1847. At 11 AM attended the Seamen's Chapel. Mr Damon preached a new year's sermon from the text "The time is short" [1 Corinth. 7. 29]. After which the Lord's Supper was administered. There were 20 or 30 communicants present, & the occasion solemn.

Eve. attended sermon at the Chapel. Mr D[amon] preached from 137th Ps. 5 & 6 v.

Read a Hist. of the Am. Episc^l Ch [*History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*, London, 1844] by Rev Sam^l Wilberforce, son of W^m W. It is such as might be expected from a Churchman. *The Church* is all in all, nothing but schism & weakness & impiety outside of it. Its most important facts are drawn from the "[General] Hist of Connecticut [London] 1781" by [Samuel A.] Peters I suppose—a pure fiction. [Spoken of by others

as "a remarkable tissue of misstatements and exaggerations."]

Wed. [Jan.] 6th. Called on Dr A[ndrews] at Mrs Chamberlain's. Dined at Mr Armstrong's.

A bold attempt was made a few nights since to rob Mr Armstrong's house by a native lad who had formerly been employed in the family. He & an accomplice entered the front door by a key, which Mr Ricord had lost in the street some months ago; they then searched several rooms & drawers, tried some trunks, & finally were disturbed in the children's room by the children waking, when they made a precipitate retreat, taking with them nothing but a little dried fish & a few spoilt raisins. The principal culprit was recognized by one of the children, & on being apprehended made confession not only of this deed but also of the attempt which was made a little before to enter the Mission Depository.

It is a curious circumstance that after this attempt on the Depository Mr Hall thought it necessary to employ some one to stay about it as guard, & chanced to engage this identical fellow. This was setting thief to catch thief with a vengeance. Instead of taking him to the fort Mr A[rmstrong] for the sake of reforming him has put him under the charge of a good man to make adobes.

Called on Mr & Mrs Rogers. Went into his printing office; keeps one press going constantly, sometimes two; prints the *Elele*, a native paper edited by Mr Armstrong, & is now about issuing a new native hymn book. Only natives are employd in the office.

Over the printing office is kept the Depository of Medicines for the Mission.

Thurs. [Jan.] 7th. Called & dined at Mr Castles. Mrs. C[astle] confined, child for a New Years gift.

PM rode with Mrs Chamberlain in a waggon to Punahou, to attend the examination of the School of the Mission kept by Mr Dole. The term closes tomorrow & this PM many of the parents came to visit the School. The scholars are of various ages, appear very well, & in the Latin & Greek recitations which were the only ones I

heard did great credit both to themselves & their instructor. Mr D[ole] appears to be thorough in his method of teaching.

Called with Messrs Rogers & Gulick at Dr Judd's, but he & his family are gone. Eve called at Dr Woods; pleasant chat with Mrs W.

Called also at Judge Turrill's, the US Consul. A pleasant fine looking man. Spent the eve with Mrs T[urrill], Mr T[urrill] having an engagement out at a party at Mr Penhallow's. Mrs T[urrill] a very sociable & agreeable lady. My letter of introduction was from her cousin Mr Howe of N. York.

Frid 8th Jan. Dined at Mrs Chamberlain's. Mr & Mrs Hall & Mr Gulick present. Called with Mr Rogers at Dr Judd's. Mr J[udd] not in. Spent half an hour with Mrs J[udd] & left to call again in the eve when Dr J[udd] w'd be in.

Went into the yard of Capt Dominis where he is building a splendid two story house with piazza all round in the east part of the town. The house is to cost some 10,000 dollars & will be the finest in town. Called at Judge Andrews. He is a plain man, with a plain wife & family. They seem to be excellent people.

Took tea at Mr Rogers. Afterwards called at Dr Judd's, found him at home but just getting ready to go to a meeting at the palace. After conversing a few minutes he excused himself & went to the palace which is immediately adjoining.

Sat Jan 9th A Peruvian vessel came in yesterday from California bringing late news from the U.S. This morning took a walk with Mr Damon in search of the news. At the Gov^t printing office read the extra Polynesian issued this AM. Major Swords who had crossed California with 100 men & had much hard fighting, came in the vessel for supplies at this market. All the flour in town was immediately bought up, so that residents can now procure none at any price. It has been scarce for some weeks, being \$14 per barrel.

This PM a ship has arrived from Oregon but she brings

but 150 lbs flour 100 of which were engaged previously by the Chinese bakers. The war will greatly enhance the price of stores at these Islands.

Took a walk up towards the valley, visited the burying ground called the "Nuuanu Cemetery," just at the entrance of the valley of that name. A new tomb of coral stone & mortar to receive the remains of the rich drunkard who died last Sab. of delirium tremens—Capt S. who had lived on the Islands 30 or 40 years.

Called & took tea at Mr Lowell Smiths. He has been holding extra religious meetings this week preparatory to the Communion tomorrow.

An instance of native stupidity occurred yesterday at Mr Rogers's. Mrs R[ogers] had a jar of cream to churn for Mrs Castle. She told her native man to take the churn & wash it out, the churn being an article which he was well acquainted with. The fellow however took the jar of cream from the table, emptied it on the ground, & washed it out, not stopping to think whether cream was of any value, or whether a jar was actually a churn.

This was like Mrs Paris's native who made coffee by pouring the hot water into the japanned coffee can holding a quart of coffee & setting the whole on the fire to boil.

Sun. 10th Jan. At 9½ went to the "Royal Chapel" (Mr Armstrong's) to meeting. Entered at the S. door & took a seat in front of the pulpit. The Kings pew was at my left 3 pews off, & distinguished by crimson tapestry. In it were the king, queen, another woman & Dr Judd. The two pews in front of the king's were occupied by the Royal School of Young Chiefs. The house was well filled, galleries & all & must have contained over two thousand. They were all well dressed, many of them genteelly. And all seemed more or less attentive. Rev Mr Armstrong preached. His manner is animated with much gesticulation. The natives I understand are very fond of hearing him. The services concluded before 11, in season for those who wished to attend the English service at the Seamen's Chapel, whither I repaired.

Mr Damon preached from Luke 10:34, on loving our

neighbor. Eve. again, on the tribulations thro' which Christians enter heaven.

Mon. Jan. 11th Called on Dr Andrews. Sent Hymn Book to Mr Coan, Rogers, Campbell, Montgomery &c, to Mary H. Thurston; & gave [Robert] Bairds Rel. in Am. [*Religion in the United States of America, Glasgow, 1844*] to Dr A[ndrews].

Dined at Mr Armstrongs. Mr A[rmstrong] preaches at the palace every sab. eve. The King is an attentive & thoughtful listener, but appears to be stumbled by the many poor specimens of X^{ns} [Christians] that he sees around him. Mr A[rmstrong] gave me an invitation to attend with him next sab. eve.

Mr Cooke called on me to get me to assist in the Royal School in place of Mr Douglass who goes to Maui today for his health. I accept, though with great hesitancy on account of my own health, yet I know not but it is my duty both to myself & to others to do what little I can.

Tues. Jan 12th Commenced teaching in the Y[oung] Chief's School, take the forenoon from 9½ to 12½ embracing reading, Arithmetic, Algebra, Grammar &c. Commenced boarding & lodging at the School; occupy Mr Douglass's room, N. end of school house.

Took tea at Judge Turrill's, US Consul. Mr & Mrs Damon & Mr & Mrs John Ladd present & Mr Bishop. Maj. Swords came in in the eve. He is direct from California, & returns next week. Came overland to Cal[ifornia] in Col. Kearney's detachment; had some hard fighting. He is apparently 35 & slender. He describes a remarkable tribe of Indians in Cal. after leaving Santa Fee, stout, civilized. Whole day marching thro' their village. Remains of buildings &c &c.

Thurs. [Jan.] 14. Eve. Messrs [William L.] Lee, Ricord, Dr Rooke, Mr & Mrs De Fiennes, & Hall called, & spent the Eve. Mr Lee has been here but a few weeks; he was on his way to Oregon but soon after his arrival here was made judge of the courts in foreign cases with Judge [Lorin] Andrews. He appears to be an excellent man & gives promise of usefulness.

Mr Ricord talks of leaving when he gets the Ladd case through to push his fortune in some other part of the world. Mrs Defiennes has been here but a short time; she is called by some a fine singer, but if the screeching which she *did* in connection with Mr Cooke's piano is such I never knew what it was before.

Sun. [Jan.] 17th Attended Seamen's Chapel. Mr D[amon] preached from 2 Kings [5] on the little Israeli-tish maid as illustrating the overruling providence of God.

Mr Armstrong at the King's Chapel preached all day on Catholicism from the text "Come ye out" &c, some 12 or 15 individuals who had gone to the Catholics having left them & returned to protestantism.

Eve. attended service at the palace. Rev Mr Richards preached; about 35 or 40 present including the King, Premier, John Young, Paki, some other high Chiefs & their wives, Dr & Mrs Judd, the Young Chiefs &c &c.

The services were held in the South room of the palace. It is a large double room with folding doors, very high, plainly finished, with Chinese matting on the floor, 4 or 5 plain haircloth settees, chairs, mahogany center table &c &c. 2 English prints in frames, & two portraits (one of the King) adorn the plain white walls.

After services at home the Y[oung] Chiefs were questioned by Mr Cooke on the sermon. Their knowledge of it however was not very profound.

Monday [Jan.] 18th W. South. P.M. called at Mr [Robert Crichton] Wyllies [Minister of Foreign Affairs] to consult his Library. Spent 1½ hours among his books. He has the last edition of the Encyclopedia Brittanica, in 21 vols, cost about \$220. He lives just at the S corner of the fort outside by the water.

Sun. Jan 24th Rev Mr Armstrong preached at the Seamen's Chapel from Luke 16:21 [19]-31, the parable of the Rich Man & Lazarus. Mr Damon absent at Kaneohe, Mr Parker's.

Sun. 7th Feb. Mr Damon preached on the personality & divinity of the Holy Spirit. P.M. a man called at my

room to see Mr Douglass, not knowing that he was absent, & bored me nearly 3 hours; he is from New London, a mechanic by trade & came out as a whaler.

Reading D'Aubigné's 4th volume [Merle d'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*; the fourth vol. relates to the History of the Reformation in England].

Thurs Feb 11th Yesterday the *Hylon* [?] came in 9 mos. from N.Y. by way of California.

Rec'd a letter from Trumbull at Valparaiso but none from home. Latest date from home Jan 18th 1846. The *Montreal* sailed from N Y in Nov & the *Mt Vernon* Sept 25th expected soon.

Sat. Feb 13th Saw Mr B—— & delivered my letter of introduction from his brother A. W. Spent a short time with him; his course has been erratic at the Islands & his char[acte]r low. Shall not care to cultivate his acquaintance.

Tues [Feb.] 23. Took tea & spent the eve at Mr Ten Eyk's (U.S.Com.) 3 or 4 of the Miss[ionarie]s & their ladies only there. Miss Johnson, who came out in company with his family is a talkative being, & apparently intelligent.

Sat [Feb.] 27th Mr & Mrs Richards dined with us. Mr R[ichards] mentioned an instance of native superstition which occurred a week or two since. A man stole a shirt from Mr R[ichards]'s yard; he was seen & two young natives in his employ sent in pursuit. They overtook him & secured the shirt, but in so doing tore the man's tapa, which so enraged him that he told the lads that he would have them prayed to death as he had a relative who possessed the power. The boys came back with the shirt but terribly frightened by the man's threat, as this old superstition of the natives is by no means extinct. The next day Mr R[ichards] noticed that one of the boys was not about as usual & missing him the day after, learned from the others that he was sick; he found him lying down under a tapa, asked what ailed him & was only told that he felt sick & could not get up. On inquiring for symptoms

Mr R[ichards] could not learn that any thing special was the matter except that his pulse was quick &c, till one of the others mentioned that the man they had offended was having him prayed to death. As soon as this was ascertained Mr R[ichards] pulled off his tapas & ordered him out to work, which with some reluctance he did, & he soon recovered his usual health & spirits. Mr Richards has little doubt that if he had been left to the influence of his imagination he would have actually sunk under his fears & thus become a victim of the old superstition. This illustrates the influence of the mind on the health.

Sun. [Mar.] 7th Mr Damon preachd from "For if the righteous scarcely be saved, where &c &c?" [1 Peter 4: 18], a good sermon, in which he took occasion to condemn Sunday whaling.

Wed [Mar.] 10th The "News" comes out to day with a strange article in reference to some remarks in the Elele (a native paper edited by Mr Armstrong) on the subject of licentiousness, in which the editor in reply to a correspondent suggests half in earnest & half in hyperbole that adultery &c be punished 1st by whipping, 2^d by ducking in the sea till almost dead, 3^d by death.

The "News" seems to take the ground that all laws on the subject are foolish & that the only way to prevent vice is to introduce foreign capital & set the natives to work (i.e. introduce the Belgian Company).

[Jules] Dudoit the French Consul it is said has made or is to make the article in the Elele the subject of a communication to his gov^t, showing the bloody nature of the protestant influence at these Islands. The simple explanation of the whole excitement seems to me to be found in the adage that "Hit birds always flutter."

Sat [Mar.] 20th The *Kamehameha* this morning brought from Lahaina Mr Douglass & Dr Andrews. Mr A[ndrews] improving in health. Mr D[ouglass] apparently not much better than when he left.

Sat. [Mar.] 27th Mr Alexander came from Maui to go to Kauai Monday or Tues. I design to go with him.

Settled with Mr Cooke & rec'd an order on the S[andwich] I Treasury for \$125. for $2\frac{1}{2}$ months teaching.

My health is apparently about the same as when I commenced. I have spent about $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day in teaching besides riding with the boys nearly every afternoon an hour or more, which little excursions have been pleasant.

The school is as pleasant a one to teach as ordinary schools in the U.S. saving that the branches taught are nearly elementary ones.

[King Kalakaua, who visited the Diarist in New Haven in 1874, was one of the boys taught during this period in the native chiefs' school.]

Tues. [Mar. 30th 1847.] Purchased a compass & chain of Judge Lee for \$50 in view of going to Califor[nia] in a month or two whither Mr [Hiram] Grimes offers me a passage gratis. Mr Stephens had engaged me to survey some land for him on Kauai & my tools were all on board ship when just as I was going on board myself I was informed by Mr S[tephens] that Dr Judd had laid his veto on my doing it & w'd not consider my survey legal. I called on the Dr. when he gave me to understand that no survey could be acknowledged unless made by the man in the employ of Gov^t. So my compass & chain go to Kauai on a tom-fools errand.

We found the *Magnolia* a fine ship of 400 tons, with an elegant cabin & a most gentlemanly & obliging Captain [Bezer] Simmons. Mr Alexander with Miss Maria Dibble & Master Emerson were already on board.

In the morning we were off Kauai having had a fine breeze all night, & at 9 AM we were all landed in a boat at the mouth of the stream of Koloa. The water was so high that we had to be backed across the stream by natives. Mounting the shoulders of a brawny man I was soon safely placed on the opposite bank. The water was from 1 to two feet deep, very rapid & the bottom stony. I could not but wonder at the surefootedness of the unshod natives,— $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents apiece paid them for their services. All were carried over in safety except Capt Simmons; his native slipped & he was plunged into the stream, & of

course came out dripping & withal with a torn coat. A walk of half a mile up the stream bro't us to the mission houses of Mr. Pogue & Dr [James W.] Smith. On first landing we were told by the natives that there had been a great flood, that Mr Pogue's house had been swept away & himself nearly killed. On our way up we saw abundant proofs of a torrent having recently swept over the whole plain & on reaching the premises we learned that the report of the natives was but little exaggerated.

On Sunday night the 21st there was a heavy thunder storm over the whole Island. Between 3 & 4 in the morning Mr P[ogue] hearing the water rushing into his house sprang from bed & found it over ankle deep on the floor with the mats, trunk & furniture all afloat. The doors burst open & let in the torrent with resistless violence. Fearing the house, which was of adobies w'd be carried away, he threw a cloak around him & attempted to reach Dr Smith's only a few rods distant. By clinging to trees & shrubs he succeeded in reaching 2 thirds of the distance when the torrent became too strong for him & he was carried down by its violence amid rocks, trees, sugar cane & shrubbery to the distance of half a mile or more towards the sea, when he brought up nearly senseless against a pile of stones, where he remained till daylight when he succeeded in crawling into a native house near by.

Meanwhile his cloak all in tatters had been found & brought to Dr Smith's & when on sending a native through the water to Mr Pogue's house it was ascertained that he was not there, the anxiety of Dr Smith's family was of course extreme, till news came that he was found & yet alive.

Dr S[mith] found him suffering extremely from bruises & dangerous wounds, & for some days his situation was regarded as critical. He is now comfortable however & in a fair way to recover. His house was left a perfect wreck.

Dr Smith was absent to visit Mrs Whitney at Waimea. Mrs S[mith] however rec'd us with great cordiality & a warm breakfast did much to relieve us of uncomfortable

sensation; I, for my part, not having taken anything since leaving Honolulu. Dr S[mith] returned about noon reporting Mrs W[hitney] to be better.

The house in which Dr S[mith] usually lodges strangers having been flooded Mr D[ouglass] & myself took up our quarters for the night in the parlor on settees, while Mr Alexander went to lodge with Mr Linsley, about a mile away.

Thursday April 1st The rain ceased after dinner; at 5 past 1 PM we had mounted our horses & were on our way towards Waioli. Our route lay over a rolling country gently ascending a valley for 3 or 4 miles. We passed the sugar works of Dr. Wood, & the famous Ladd & Co plantation.

The valley grew narrower as we ascended till we arrived at what is called the gap, where we came to a descent into a broad & beautiful plain of many miles in extent, enclosed by ridges of mountains except towards the east where the ocean bounded the prospect. We found the road good till we reached a river about 5 miles from Koloa. It was swollen by the rains & we were at a loss how to get over when our Kanaka guide came up & with some difficulty rode through, the current being strong & the water nearly to the horses back. Mr Alexander followed & succeeded in getting over tho' with so much difficulty that I thought I would not attempt it on my low, fat horse. I accordingly dismounted, had my horse led over, stripped & swam the stream, while the Kanaka carried over my clothes, which he came within an ace of losing in the stream. Mr Douglass crossed in the same manner as myself. In attempting to throw his umbrella over the stream, it fell in & was lost.

We passed some other small streams with some difficulty, but the worst was a stream of moderate size, but with a long name, it being called Kahoinakaunalehua. Here the guides horse in attempting to cross got stuck in the mud & it was with great difficulty that he was extricated. Mr D[ouglass]'s horse being light, went over with less difficulty. But Mr A[lexander]'s being heavy sunk all

over in water & mud, & it was a long time before we succeeded in getting him out. Having come so near losing this horse, we fell to work & built a bridge of timbers & roots, over which we at last succeeded in taking him, though not without his getting into the mud & nearly foundering.

Our course was now NE over a level & fine country. We passed on the right of the former residence of Dr Lafon & saw where he & the Governor of the Island in his zeal for promoting agriculture, raised perhaps a hundred acres of sugar cane, which was entirely lost, because they had provided no means of grinding & manufacturing it.

About sunset we reached the mouth of the Wailua River which is here deep & several rods in width. We were ferried over in a canoe, leaving our horses to be swum over by the natives in the morning.

We proceeded immediately to the house of Deborah, a chief woman of rank & influence & formerly the favorite wife of the King of the Island. Her husband was taken from her by Kaahumanu & she has since been through a variety of fortunes. Her house is a large thatched one with curtains dividing it into several apartments.

Friday April 2^d Early in the morning Deborah took the arm of Mr A[lexander] & myself & conducted us to a house near by to see her aged father, who is one of the oldest men on the Island & best acquainted with their ancient customs. We found the grey headed old man feeble with disease. He had been married some years when Capt Cook first visited the Islands & remembers him with perfect distinctness.

After riding about 4 miles we reached the Kealia which, dismounting from our horses, we swam just above its entrance into the sea. The water was about 4 feet deep.

The Anahola a few miles further on we crossed with no difficulty; at 11¾ we reached the village of Malowaa [Moloaa] in a valley at the mouth of a stream of the same name.

There we saw a small native popish chapel designated by a cross. It is the stronghold of the Catholics on this Is^d.

Two or 3 miles further on at 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ we reached a beautiful & extensive grove of large Kukui trees beneath the shade of which Mr Alexander was formerly, when missionary at Waioli, accustomed to preach to the people.

After passing Malowaa [Moloaa] we passed a small settlement called Lepeuli where Mr Johnson has an out-station meeting house.

Our course was now somewhat inland 2 or 3 miles from the sea, the land gently level & covered with grass. This region is chiefly occupied by the heirs of Mr Dudoit, the French Consul, though they range over a wide territory to which he has no claim whatever.

After passing over the level highland we came all at once to the bluff where we looked directly down upon the charming valley of Hanalei, which sets up from the ocean several miles & is from one to two miles in width. It is beautifully fertile, perfectly level, interspersed with clumps & rows of trees & splendid plantations of coffee belonging to Mr Titcomb & Rhodes & Co

Descending, by a zigzag path we reached the level bottom of the valley & half a mile further on forded the River Hanalei where the stream was within 8 or 10 inches of the top of the saddle & several rods in width. A ride of a mile more through the beautiful meadow land of the plain brought us to the Mission Premises which are at the S.W. extremity of it, near the Waioli river & just under the verdant mountains just mentioned.

We arrived at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5 PM. Mr Alexander & myself stop at Mr Johnson's [Andrew Johnstone's?], Mr Douglass with Mr [Abner] Wilcox.

Sat 3^d April. About 10 AM we started on horseback with Messrs Johnson & Wilcox to visit the remains of the "Russian Fort" on the point at the N side of the harbor, not more than 2 miles distant in a straight line from the mission station, but making a ride of 4 or 5 miles by way of the common route.

We ascended from Hanalei valley by the same path by which we reached it, & proceeding towards the harbor called at Mr Kellitt's, the pilot of the port. He kindly

volunteered to accompany us to the fort which we reached after a circuitous route of some two miles.

The remains of the fort are simply a breastwork of earth, now not more than 3 or 4 ft high, of an irregular oval of oblong form, & enclosing perhaps an acre & a half. Some loose stones near the center marked the place of the magazine. It is on a point or bluff some 200 ft above the water and commands the entrance of the harbor which is about 2 miles in width.

This fort is the work of the ambitious Dr Schoof [Scheffer] familiarly known as the Russian Doctor. There is no evidence that the Russian Gov^t or the Governor of Sitka ever had any design upon the Island. It was probably the private project of a short-sighted ambitious man clothed with a "little brief authority." The fort is nearly due North from the Mission houses which are in plain sight.

In the PM rambled with Mr D[ouglass] down the beach, after which we visited Mr [Charles] Titcomb's coffee plantation, situated in the midst of Hanalei valley. He attempted a few years ago the cultivation of silk. But after several years trial & sinking, he says, \$15,000, he was obliged to give it up. He attributes the failure to the interference of the Gov^t or rather to the want of the countenance of Gov^t in reference to the paper money which he issued, & which as he says the natives refused to take in consequence of a "sly-taboo" put upon it by the Chiefs.

For the last 3 or 4 years he has given his attention to coffee. His plantation of this article is extensive & beautiful. He has perhaps 50 or 70,000 trees growing, a large portion of them from 2 to 4 years old. His trees he calculates will yield from 100,000 to 150,000 lbs of coffee per year, which he thinks will yield a good profit at 6 or 7 cents per lb. The price is now 15 to 20 cts. His trees are from 2 to 4 or 5 feet high & growing luxuriantly.

Mr T[itcomb] is a bachelor, lives in a grass house, & seems to be indefatigable in the prosecution of his coffee enterprise.

The Missionary premises are at the S W extremity of the same level plain & contain some 50 acres of excellent land.

The meeting house was built by the proceeds of sugar cane cultivated by the natives on this land.

Sunday Ap'l 4th. AM went to the native church a few rods from the house. It was well filled & the congregation as well dressed as the average congregations which I have seen on the Islands.

Mr Alexander preached. In the Afternoon the two mission families with us their visitors held a prayer meeting at Mr Wilcox's.

Tues. Apl 6th Two or three miles out we passed a solitary point overlooking the sea which was formerly a haunt of native robbers, they remaining concealed behind the hill while one of their number kept a lookout from the summit to ascertain the approach of travelers, when they would rush out & murder & rob them for the sake of the malo or other article they might chance to have.

Just after passing the Wainiha we saw an instance of Hawaiaian conjugal affection, in a woman whose husband some years ago being driven out to sea, was picked up by a ship with others & carried to China where he died. The sight of Mr Alexander who was her pastor at the time of her husbands death, revived old associations so vividly that she immediately fell into a violent wailing, howling. She has had another husband ever since.

Some five miles from Waioli several conspicuous conical spurs of the mountain attract the attention; one or two of them bear a rude resemblance to the human figure. One of them was formerly revered as an idol, being called Pohakuakane [sacred rocks were called *Pohaku o Kane*], the stone of Kane, one of the gods of the Islands.

Under the base of the mountain about $\frac{1}{3}$ ^d of a mile from the sea are 3 remarkable caverns. The first or the one nearest to Waioli is nearly on a level with the sea; the floor is level & composed of earth & gravel. It is a low arched apartment, 40 yards wide at the mouth, & extending back in a curved direction towards the left to the

distance of 100 yards. Half a mile further on is another cave. The entrance to it is some 100 or 200 feet up the side of the mountain. Its mouth is many yards wide, & proportionally high, there being a gradual descent of 1 or 200 ft to the bottom where is spread out a pool of water which is covered with a blue unctuous or powdery substance giving it a peculiar appearance. This substance can be gathered on the finger or in the hand. Beneath this the water is chrystal clear. We got the natives to bring a canoe in which we went to the back part of the cave, the natives propelling it by swimming in the water. The pool is 15 or 20 yards in diameter & of the temp. of 67°. The water appeared to be fresh. A few hundred yards west of this cave is another at about the same elevation on the side of the mountain & similarly terminated by a pond of water.

The water in the last cave has been ascertained to be over 40 ft deep.

After taking our lunch we started on our return. Just after passing the most easterly cave we called at the house of a native of some rank & authority & were rec'd with great kindness, they insisting upon our dining. The good woman of the house soon spread a mat on the floor, on which she laid a fine blue broadcloth figured table spread, & this again she covered, probably to save it from harm with a piece of very handsomely figured *kapa*. On this our dinner was served in earthen plates & dishes, consisting of baked fowl, fish, taro & sweet potatoes.

After a hearty meal & a short siesta on the mats, with lomilomiing by our entertainers, we resumed our homeward ride, fording the streams as before, & reaching Waioli about 4 oclock, having had a very agreeable excursion.

Wednesday [Apr.] 7th. Rode this AM to visit Mr Rhodes' plantation in the eastern part of the Hanalei valley. It embraces the whole upper part of the valley above Mr Titcomb's plantation & contains some 900 acres. He has 80 or 100,000 coffee trees growing, many of them being from 2 to 5 years old.

Mr R[hodes] is an Englishman by birth but naturalized a Hawaiian. He lost his wife some years since who was the daughter of a Spaniard—Manini, an old resident on the islands. He finds trouble in procuring native labor on his plantation & thinks that laborers will have to be introduced from Europe.

Thursday, 8th Ap'l. About 10½ AM Messrs A[lexander] D[ouglass] & myself got a canoe manned by an old native & three young ones & took a short excursion up the Hanalei river as far as the rapids of the stream would allow us, which [is] half a mile perhaps above Mr Rhodes' house.

The river is a beautiful one with verdant banks, a slow current. It is from 3 to 10 or 12 rods wide, & from 2 to 10 or more feet deep. We everywhere observed the marks of the last freshet, the waters rising 5 or 6 ft above their usual level. The old man with us said he remembered 2 floods greater than this, one of which destroyed many lives; one of them must have been 20 or 25 yrs ago, the other much earlier. An aged native whom we saw yesterday, & who has always lived in this valley said that the late freshet was the fifth he had witnessed, 2 in the days of the old Chief or King Tamoree <(Kaumualii)>, & two others about the time of the union of the islands under one gov^t.

We inquired of this old man whether Vancouver ever visited this island, or planted the orange trees here himself. He expressed his confidence that Vancouver was never here in person, affirmed that the trees were planted by natives, who brought the seeds from Hawaii where Vancouver had left them.

Friday [Apr.] 9th Read [James Jackson] Jarves's Scenes & Scenery [in the Sandwich Islands, Boston, 1844] respecting Kauai. Spent most of the day at Mr Wilcox'. Mr W[ilcox] is a native of Harwinton Conn. & Mrs W[ilcox] of Norfolk.

Mr & Mrs Johnson are from New Hampshire.

Sunday [Apr.] 11th Went to the native meeting in the PM. It being the communion season, 12 persons, 5 males

& 7 females were baptized by Mr Alexander & admitted to the Church. They all appeared to be past middle life & two or three of them were greyheaded.

Very many candidates for admission were examined yesterday, but most of them put on a longer probation. There seems to be a general desire to get into the Church & the missionary's chief difficulty appears to be to keep out those that are unfit.

There are many traces of heathenism & superstition still noticeable even in the Church members. One of Mr Johnson's Ch[urch] members confessed to have recently offered sacrifices to the old idols & performed other heathen rites, in order to get rid of disease.

It is remarkable that there formerly existed on this island a class of men somewhat similar to the Thugs of India. They formed an organized society & possessed a peculiar skill in committing murders, which was taught to the initiated as a special secret. This was by throwing a rope or noose in a peculiar manner around their intended victim at a moment least expected, & then breaking his joints & limbs over their knees. This systematized murder appears to have been connected, like that of the Thugs with their religious superstitions. It was in existence since the arrival of the missionaries. Mr Whitney came near falling a prey to the art; 2 men whom he had refused admission to the Church afterwards confessed that with a noose prepared they had been waiting for a favorable opportunity to satisfy their revenge. Mr W[hitney] in his daily rides with Mrs W[hitney] had noticed these two men at the door of a house in a retired place & seen them grinning at him with an air of malice. They said they had fixed upon a definite time & were on the point of executing their purpose when for some reason their courage failed & they gave it up & came & confessed the whole to Mr W[hitney].

Mr W[hitney] was at another time attackd by robbers near Koloa & easily escaped by putting spurs to his fleet horse.

At one time since the establishment of Protestant

schools, when there seemed to be a revulsion in favor of idolatry, the people took it for granted that the old ways were to be restored again & nearly all the teachers on the island abandoned the *palapula*, or literary teaching & commenced teaching the arts of this quasi-Thugism. It required the arm of gov^t to set things right again.

Besides the art of murder with the noose, they taught a peculiar art of wrestling or fencing, by means of which a man might escape from or conquer an enemy of twice his strength.

The former vices of these people are beyond all description, & it is probable that comparatively a small portion of even the Church members are entirely pure. In old times sodomy was a common thing especially among the Chiefs & on days when by their heathen rites their women were taboo. An equal beastliness prevailed among the women.

Even among the Royal family & high chiefs at Honolulu, there is even to this day the most open licentiousness, not 3 weeks ago a notorious woman who kept a bad house at Honolulu being fined \$50 by Judge Andrews & sent to the fort. Gov^r K. sent up & paid her fine himself, she being one of his mistresses. And not two years ago a person calling to see the king found his queen standing sentinel at the door of an apartment & was told by her on enquiring that the king was within with the wife of the Premier; & it is well known that the king & premier have their wives pretty much in common.

One of the young Chiefs now in the royal school had several intrigues with one of the girls, in consequence of which she was obliged to be married. A match was made up with a common Kanaka & they were privately married at Honolulu. M. [brother of the young chief] just before my connection with the school was detected in intrigues with the queen. Yet instead of either of them suffering any severe punishment, M. is petted by his father, & being removed from the School was immediately taken by Dr J. into his office as secretary—which M. manifestly looks upon in the light of promotion.

Having roused the indignation of Bernice by some disparaging remark & become acquainted with her feelings, he immediately wrote her a note, denying the alledged remark & expressing deep regret that any "report derogatory to his character should get into circulation just as he was entering the higher circles of society." This is a good specimen of Kanaka brass & stolidity.

As to the Queen the king w'd do nothing with her, well knowing that he was equally culpable himself. She was a member of Mr Armstrong's Church & has been suspended or excommunicated, though by no means publicly.

Such examples of unpunished licentiousness in the rulers will do immense mischief in perpetuating vice through the nation.

The truth is the whole nation is rotten with licentiousness. Men hire out their wives & daughters without the least scruple, for the sake of money. It is computed by Dr — of Lahaina that at that port during the whaling season there are upwards of 400 instances of intercourse with sailors daily. W. & B.'s establishment at that place is a perfect sink of iniquity. They are accustomed to have dances of naked girls for the entertainment of their customers the whalemén. The most gross licentiousness is practiced, & on one occasion the police took 40 women from their house at one time.

The roads on the islands are mostly the work of persons convicted of adultery or some like crime. Liliohoku [Leleiohoku], deposed gov^r of Hawaii, one of the worst debauchers in the nation, recently wrote Mr Thurston a very penitent letter confessing his iniquities & requesting to be admitted to *church membership*! Such Hypocrites are numerous, & make great trouble in the churches.

Mr Lyons suspecting that many of his flock were guilty of smoking, which was an excommunicable offense, made enquiry of persons out of the Church & thus got at a list of the delinquents. Calling a church meeting he read off the list of offending members when they one after another rose in indignation & left the house, full of hatred against the minister. A thousand members in the vicinity of the

station immediately became only about a hundred. These offended members seldom appeared at meeting, & when they did came dressed all over in wreaths, or in some other fantastic manner to annoy Mr L[yons].

In a similar manner a large portion of the Church at Kealakekua were cut off.

Of the scholars at Lahainaluna who come professedly church members Mr Alexander says that comparatively few give any comfortable evidence of piety. Three of them, members of the Waimea Ch[urch] on Hawaii, were recently flogged 20 lashes each & condemned to work a month blasting a watercourse for stealing horses & riding them nearly to death during the night.

In fact the prospect of the native Hawaiian for the future is extremely dark.

Mon. 12 Ap'l While taking measurements many natives were looking on. One of them, an old man, observed to Mr Alexander—They are measuring our lands & even our mountains. They are all slipping from us, & where are the Kanakas going to live? The remark seemed to be made half in joke, half in earnest.

Tues 13th Apl. Left Hanalei valley at 9½ AM of bright beautiful day, the same company of us as on our journey up. The Kalihiwai we were ferried over in a canoe.

We reached Deborah's at Wailua at sunset & took up our quarters with the ex-queen for the night. We found a supper nearly ready for us, & soon sat down to a good meal of fowl, fish, baked taro &c with tea & milk.

On turning in we found that we should be obliged to contest our right to our lodgings with the fleas inside & the mosquitos without. After doing valiant battle most of the night, catching an occasional nap while the enemy were thrown into confusion by our blows, we at length heard the cock crow, & made an early turn out, but little refreshed by our night's labors.

Soon after sunrise we embarked in a canoe of Queen Deborah's & three natives rowed us rapidly up the romantic Wailua river. The stream is several rods in breadth, deep & sluggish, being shut in by high precipitous

banks, between which it winds its serpentine way. About 3 miles up the stream we passed a fine ledge of Basalt on the right, apparently very compact & crystalized into 5 sided perpendicular columns, like those of the Giants Causeway in Ireland. After passing a gap of which this ledge forms one side we entered a beautiful amphitheater owned by Mr Brown, & which he is just putting under cultivation. Landing on the westerly side of this basin & ascending a steep hill we reached Mr Brown's house, where we had rec'd a polite invitation to take breakfast. It being too early to call, we passed on $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile to the falls. The cataract is indeed grand. We found the stream much higher than usual, & a sheet of water from 100 to 150 feet broad made a perpendicular plunge over a ledge of rocks to the depth of 180 feet, into a basin below. Not having time before breakfast to visit the foot of the falls we contemplated them from above. While there we were joined by Mr Brown who had come in search of us.

He is an affable, middle aged Englishman, a horticulturist by profession, & with considerable property he has come hither to establish himself for the benefit of his health, which is good here, but was poor in England. He has taken a plantation of some 600 acres, in fee simple for a certain price provided he takes the oath of allegiance within a specified time. He has been here but a few months & lives at present in a grass house, till he can put up a frame one.

Returning from the falls we were introduced to Mrs Brown, a fine looking accomplished lady, & a sister of Capt. Rhodes of Waioli.

At 1 PM we were mounted & on our way to Koloa.

The day throughout was delightful & at 5 oc'k we were again at Dr. Smiths where we found our friends well except Mr Pogue who was fast convalescing.

Thurs Apl 15th. After breakfast took a walk with Messrs Alexander & Douglass to visit the sugar works & "mauna silika" on the famous Ladd & Co plantation.

The sugar works constitute an extensive & apparently

commodious & complete establishment for the manufacture of sugar.

At one end of a long building is the mill for crushing the cane. It is one of the best that could be procured in the U.S. & seems to do its work perfectly. The cane passes between 3 cast iron cylinders, some 4 feet long by 15 or 18 inches in diameter which are set in motion by a breast water wheel of the diameter of perhaps 10 feet. The juice runs from the cylinders into a receiver from which it is raised by a forcing pump 10 or 12 feet & passed into a large tub to receive it. From the tub it is drawn by a stop cock into a large oblong copper container where it is scalded. From this it is passed in a similar way to the boilers which are five or six in number, place[d] in a row near to each other & all heated by the same fire. The boilers are of copper & surrounded by high rims of copper to prevent waste. The syrup is ladled from one to another when at its proper stage, by ladles, made of buckets or pails attachd to long handles. Adjacent to the hot boiler are two large shallow wooden vats in which the sugar granulates. From these it is taken to long ranges of square boxes on the sides & along the middle of the building, where the molasses is drained off, the boxes being furnished with a layer of straw at the bottom & placed over a sort of trough or conduit of mason work, which conducts the molasses from all the boxes to receivers set in the ground from which it is dipped out.

The fuel for boiling is the refuse cane from which the juice has been pressed.

The works were in operation while we were there. About 40 cart loads of cane per day are required to keep the mill busy. This is raised in part on the plantation & partly purchd from natives & others who raise it in the neighborhood.

From the mill we walked to the house & store occupied by Mr Linsley, who is hired to superintend the plantation. The storekeeper is Mr Morgan an Englishman. Near these premises is a long range of stone *barracks* for the natives employed on the plantation. They form two long

buildings in the same line, one of them containing 10 & the other 9 separate houses or apartments each having one door & one window on the oppsite side. The floors being covered with matting or strown with grass, they look like dark unpleasant abodes & yet are much superior to most of the common native huts.

Passing on a mile beyond, we reached what was formally christened "Mauna Silika" from the great silk business which was attempted to be carried on here 6 or 7 years ago. The business proved an utter failure, & very few mulberries are now to be seen, the sugar cane being the chief article now raised on the grounds. The spot on a beautiful eminence where Messrs Jarves & Marshall formerly had their residence is only marked by the ornamental trees still remaining. The enclosure was pointed out to us where a patch of *sago* was formerly sowed, the article as it is prepared for commerce being the seed put into the ground, a mode of raising sago as likely to succeed as would be an attempt to raise wheat by sowing *nutcakes* or potatoes by planting potato starch. The premises on this part of the plantation are entirely unoccupied. The house in which Mr Peck formerly dwelt we found open. On the shelves of an otherwise empty bookcase lay as if in mockery a copy of the Silk growers manual & another of Pollock's [Robert Pollok] "Course of Time" [a poem, in ten books, London, 1827; it went through many editions], as if to say, poetry & the art of silk growing are here equally valueless. Mr Peck after quitting the silk business has since made a handsome fortune at Lahaina & is about to return to the US with his family.

There were formerly here at Koloa 8 or 10 families of foreigners, all of whom are now gone, with the exception of Mr Linsley the present superintendent of the concern. Most of them have gone to the U.S.

Near by we noticed the grave & monument of Mrs. Brinsmade, wife of P. A. Brinsmade, formerly of the Ladd & Co firm, now editor of the S[andwich] I. News.

The plantation is a valuable one, well adapted to sugar cane, & embraces about one thousand acres.

Mr Linsley is of opinion that, with proper management a yearly out lay of \$12,000 on the plantation would yield \$18000 or a net profit of \$6000. This however it has never yet done. It is now chiefly in the hands of Dr Wood of Honolulu who is said to make the sugar business a profitable one

We returned in season for dinner.

Took tea & spent the night at Mr Linsleys. Mr L[insley] is the son of a Methodist minister & left the Wesleyan University at Middletown to enter into the silk speculation here, 8 years ago.

Friday 16th Apl. Two horses having been sent over from Waimea for us I mounted one of them, a sober white steed, & in company with Messrs Alexander & Douglass, Master Emerson & Miss Maria Dibble, started at 10 AM for Waimea, 15 miles distant towards the West.

Two or three miles out we passed the Lawai just above where its two branches unite in one stream. It is but a brook. At the Kalaheo we found bridge gone & had some difficulty in getting our horses over. A little further on we crossed the Waihaka & not long after the Wahiawa or stony brook, just beyond which on the upland we stopped half an hour to refresh at a small country house built by Mr Whitney, a large tract of land in this region having been given him by the Gov^r. It is now in charge of a native named Eli. We left this place at half past 12 & soon came to the beautiful valley & river of Hanapepe.

Our route hitherto was inland some two or more miles from the sea, & then struck the Hanapepe a mile or mile & a half inland. There being no crossing-place here our path turned southerly along the margin of the valley till we reachd the sea, where we were ferried over in a canoe & our horses led across. This is little more than half way from Koloa to Waimea. Our route from this place lay over a rolling or rather level country not far from the sea, in a direction a little N of West. We reached the valley of the Waimea a little above its entrance into the sea.

The river is here broad & 4 or five feet deep in the channel. Here we were again ferried over, & at half past 3 we reached the Mission houses which are 40 or 50 rods from the beach. We stopped first at Mrs Whitney's where we were soon provided with a good Dinner. Mrs W[hitney] & her daughter Maria we found both invalids, tho able to be about.

Mr Alexander & Master Emerson quarter at Mrs W[hitney]'s Mr D[ouglass] & myself & Maria Dibble at Mr Rowels [George B. Rowell] a few rods distant.

As soon as we came into the place the natives began to flock around Mr Alexander. Many fell to weeping & wailing, especially the women & some of them with loud sobbing & wailing clasped him by the knees. Their sorrow was aroused by the remembrance of their former pastor Mr Whitney who had died at Mr Alexander's house.

Sat. 17th Apl. The horses having been got up Messrs A[lexander] & D[ouglass] & Miss Dibble started at 11 AM for a ride to Manaa 12 miles distant along the coast westerly, to witness the *Mirage* & the *Musical Sand* [Barking Sands].

Our route lay over a level plain, scarcely at all elevated above the ocean, & from 1 to 2 miles wide between the sea & the inland bluff by which it is bounded. All along the shore & throughout the plain a coarse sandstone appears, composed chiefly of comminuted shells.

This plain in dry weather is the scene of a remarkable exhibition of the mirage, like that seen by the French soldiers in Egypt. The traveler sees spread out on the plain what seems to be an extensive pond of water, so perfectly resembling the real element as often effectually to deceive the spectator. On approaching it however the illusion vanishes & nothing [remains] but the dry sandy plain. On passing this pseudo lake & looking back the apparent water is again visible. Mr Rowell mentions having often witnessed this & all the natives with whom we conversed gave the same account of the matter.

After riding two or 3 miles over the plain, we came indeed to what seemed to be a sheet of water spreading

out for miles over the low level plain. This of course must be the wonderful *Mirage*. To be sure it looked like real water & on approaching it we could discern little rippling waves raised by the wind which so thoroughly completed the illusion that we could scarcely doubt that the exhibition before us was bonafide water. Nor were we more undeceived when we saw a veritable canoe lying on one of the seeming banks partly on land & partly on the *Mirage*. Our wits were completely nonplussed when on beginning to cross the *Mirage* instead of the vision vanishing the horses feet made a splashing & splattering & some large drops of the *Mirage* in a substantial form were actually thrown upon our clothes. The seemingly clear lake also became to the eye muddled & dark where the horses passed along, & we had not ridden many rods into the phenomenon before we found that unless we lifted up our feet & gathered them up under us on the saddle they would become wet & soggy in the *Mirage* just as readily as in a real pond of water. Moreover tall bulrushes grew up from the bottom, & by the time we had reached the opposite bank of 20 or 30 rods of troublesome & muddy wading we were so impressed by the wonderful perfectness of the illusion that we came unanimously to the conclusion that if the phenomenon we had witnessed & felt was not actual water we could not tell what it was.

It is proper to say however that the natives had forewarned us that in place of the *Mirage* we should now find real water, the recent rains having covered the whole plain with a shallow lake of water 5 or 6 miles long & in places half a mile or more wide.

There is no doubt of the reality of the *Mirage* in dry weather, but on the present occasion it was *flooded*, & actual water had usurped its place.

Eleven or twelve miles from Waimea we reached the sand hills at the western extremity of the plain, which stretches off towards the N several miles further & terminates at the precipitous coast which extends along the Western side of the Island to the Caves at Haena, being

an almost perpendicular rocky bluff in places attaining an elevation of 3000 or 4000 feet.

At the termination of the plain over which we had ridden is a ridge of sand hill extending from the bluff on the right a mile or more along the shore towards the left. Some parts of this ridge reach to the height of 100 feet or more above the plain, especially the southern extremity, where we first came up to it. The sand here is famous for its peculiar musical, or grunting quality. The natives have observed it from time immemorial. The name of the sand bank is *Nohili*.

It is a beautiful clean bank of white or reddish sand, formed mostly of polished particles of seashells, & perfectly dry from direct exposure to the rays of the sun. This bank is over 100 feet perpendicular elevation above the plain, & the slope of it (30° or 35°) is as great as the particles of the sand will allow. It is steadily advancing along the plain, & the strong breezes from the N. are constantly wafting along fresh supplies of sand, which coming over the summit lie on this southern slope at as steep an angle as possible. The natives say that this bank was formerly [a] great way off, but that now it is coming very nigh.

But the great curiosity here is the barking or grunting property of the sand. On stirring it, or rather pressing it together with both hands, it gives out an audible & peculiar squeak, grunt or bark, more resembling the barking of the little toy dogs which children play with than anything else. We tried it at various places on the sand bank, even on its summit & every where with the same result, except where it was damp.

The particles of the sand view[ed] with a glass are more or less rounded & highly polished, being comminuted fragments of shells. It seems to be nearly free from finer particles of dust, & the sound must in some way be owing to this circumstance together with the smoothness & dryness of the particles. The natives say that they know of no other sand that has the barking quality, but that this when carried elsewhere & dried in the sun still retains it.

Sun 18th Ap'l. Attended the native church, a large building of adobé plastered outside & in, a few rods east of the dwellings of the missionaries.

Mr Alexander preachd. The house was tolerably filled, perhaps 300 being present. Most of them were seated on rude settees, others on the matted floor in native style. Mr Rowell's church numbers about 300, & his field extends from the *barking* sand at Manaa 12^m west to Hanapepe, 7 miles to the east.

I forgot to mention that the musical sandhill at Manaa has been used from time immemorial as a burying place, the corpses being deposited at the edge of the bank on the plain. As the sand advances they are in a few years far in the interior & a hundred feet or more below the surface.

Some ages hence, should these corpses be discovered beneath such a bed of super incumbent sandstone it may exercise the skill of geologists to tell how they came there. The most obvious inference doubtless would be that the inhabitants of this early period were accustomed to dig their graves 100 feet deep.

Mon. 19th Apl. Startd after breakfast to take a walk up the valley of the Waimea, & had nearly reached the fork of its two branches a mile or more above its mouth, when a red-faced foreigner who was proceeding towards the beach informed me that a whale ship on fire was coming in towards the town, one or two of her masts being already burned down. As I had seen the ship under full sail not half an hour before & noticed no fire I was disposed to discredit his statement & walked on.

I had not proceeded far however before a repetition of the report from better authority convinced me of its truth & I turned back.

On reaching the beach I saw indeed a noble ship under a full swell of canvas coming in, but instead of any of her masts being burnt down, not a sign of fire could be perceived. A pile of trunks, boxes, sextants &c belonging to the officers, on the beach with boats putting off & coming in, together with a crowd of staring natives standing

around, showed that something was the matter. The ships colors too were flying at half mast as signals of distress.

The ship was on fire & it was said she was to be run aground, the pilot Hobbes having sent off directions to have her stand up abreast of the town & then run directly in. She came up from the westward under full sail, but on coming abreast of the town she came to anchor, the Capt. having succeeded in getting up one chain cable by cutting thro' the Deck.

The ship proved to be the *W^m Thompson* Capt A. G. Ellis of New Bedford 5 months out, with 50 bbls oil. She is a splendid ship of 500 tons elegantly finished, & worth some \$50,000.

She had touched at Lahaina & Honolulu & was now on her way to the NW. Her crew seems to be a desperate one as this is now the third time this voyage that she has been set on fire. Two of the crew had formed a plan to run away at Lahaina, but the ship sailing sooner than they expected their scheme was frustrated.

At 10 oclock last eve. the ship was discovered to be on fire, she being then 40 miles or more to the westward of Kauai, & a stiff breeze blowing. It was the second mates watch, & the alarm was instantly given. The Capt on coming up found the ship full of smoke, coming chiefly from the forecastle gangway. He immediately ordered the ship put about towards land & then made an effort to arrest the flames. It being found impossible to do this, the hatches were put on & every thing made snug in order to smother it.

The two hands who had been disappointed in their plan of running away were instantly suspected, & a kanaka shipped at Lahaina informed the Capt that they had proposed to fire the ship when off Oahu.

These two men were immediately put in irons & one of them on being threatened with a flogging confessed to having knowledge of the whole affair.

They had cut a hole through the forward bulkheads & deposited a quantity of oakum among the stores inside, to which they thus set fire. A large quantity of lumber was

below near the fire, & the Capt had some 3 thousand dollars worth of goods of his own between decks which he designed to take to California.

The ship came to anchor about 10 AM. At noon I went on board with Messrs Rowell & Douglass in the double canoe of the mission. All hands were busy, sending down sails, & getting off whatever was on deck. A dense mass of smoke was visible through the cabin skylight, & the deck was hot to the touch. The two principal culprits were aft in irons, one of them a decent looking fellow enough, but the other wearing the countenance of a reckless villain. The latter was shipped from the N Y house of Refuge & the Capt regards him as one of the worst men he ever knew. There has been great insubordination among the crew ever since sailing. Before they had been out a week an attempt was made to steal the ship's papers & the Capt thinks a plot was on foot to take the vessel. At Pernambuco an attempt was made to set her on fire, & three men were sent home, with the evidence, to be tried for their lives; two or three others were disposed of elsewhere, & kanakas shipped in their place.

The bad character of the crew was manifest in the peculations of property that took place after it was landed on the beach & removed to a store house. Many articles were missed, & search being made it was found that they had been taken by some of the ship's crew & concealed in the houses nearby.

Afternoon Mr A[lexander] & myself carried down a dinner to Capt Ellis at the beach, he being too busy to go after it himself.

At night a tow line from the ship was fastened to the shore by which she might be towed ashore in case it should be necessary before morning.

Tues. 20th Ap'l. The ship still lying at anchor & no signs of fire visible from shore. Capt Ellis came up & breakfasted at Mr Rowell's. During the forenoon the after hatch was opened & a large part of the Capt's goods got out. It was ascertained that the fire had not extended as far as was expected & hopes were entertained that it

might yet be put out by throwing in water by means of a hose. There being none that c'd be come at on board one was made for the occasion & the experiment made, but after throwing in a great quantity of water it was found that the fire rather increased & the attempt was discontinued & all shut up again, to wait through another night.

Wed 21 Apl. Made preparations for returning to Koloa. Started at 9¼, called as we passed to see Capt Ellis, but he was on board the ship. One of his men who had just come off said they would probably put out the fire.

On our return we took the beach road as far as Hana-pepe to call on A—— recently of the Royal School, but now married ex necessitate & living in this vicinity.

During the PM. a man from Waimea called to tell us that the fire in the ship was put out, & the ship not greatly damaged.

Thurs 22^d Ap'l. This morning the *Amelia* was in sight & at 9 we sent down our baggage, Mr Linsley kindly furnishing an ox team. The vessel is to be at Nawiliwili on the East part of the Island tomorrow, whither we are to go by land.

Have had a delightful visit on the island, been favored in all our excursions with fair weather & seen most that is remarkable, with the exception of the Hanapepe falls, the beach sand & coral said to be on the summit of Waialeale, & the precipice said to be 4000 ft perpendicular on the west side of the Island. Dr Smith's family kindly urge me to stay some weeks longer at this place but my plans will not allow me the gratification.

Friday 23^d Ap'l. Started at 10¼ from Dr S[mith]'s for Nawiliwili to take passage on the *Amelia* schooner for Oahu.

At sunset went on board but the wind being light it was 9 before we set sail & left the harbor.

For myself I did not leave the cabin or take a morsel of food, save a few swallows of tea till we reached Oahu on Sunday evening. We came under the lee of the Island Sunday morning & were all day beating up towards Honolulu. At 9 PM we were in the outer roads, the boat was got

out & the passengers set on shore. We walked up town, Mr D[ouglass] & myself to Mr. Cooke's, where we arrived at ten & took possession of our old room after getting a crust of bread from the pantry.

Passage \$5.00. 2 days.

V.

OAHU; HONOLULU TO SAN FRANCISCO; SAN
FRANCISCO AND MONTEREY; SAN JOSÉ

APRIL 26, 1847, TO JUNE 5, 1848

V.

[Honolulu] Wed. [Apr.] 28th Attended the opening of the S[andwich] I. Parliament.

A few minutes before [the opening] I repaired to the parliament Hall in a new building erected by the Kings Chamberlain a few rods from Mr Cooke's. The upper story of the house is occupied by the Chamberlain as a dwelling.

The whole house & yard I found crowded. My entrance was through a long double line of soldiers in uniform. On entering the hall I found a seat near the door with many of the missionaries & foreign residents. A large number of native ladies occupied the back part of the room. On the right of the Royal Seat were the Young Chiefs. On the left the foreign dignitaries & their families. The walls were adorned with a number of fine paintings & prints among which I was pleased to see the "Declaration of Independence." Behind the Royal Chair was the King's portrait. A band of music was performing in the veranda.

The procession formed at the Palace & at 12 entered the hall. The King in full uniform with his queen took the lead, next came Alexander & Lot & then the Ministers & other officers of Gov^t also in their court uniforms. The King wore a blue coat with red trimmings, cocked hat, buff breeches & vest, the whole set off with abundance of gold lace epaulettes &c. At his side hung his sword. The Ministers displayed plenty of gilt buttons & red scarfs. Alexander & Lot, the two oldest boys of the School, followed the King wearing beautiful red & yellow feather capes & carrying in their hands highly polished spears. Over the chair on which the King sat was thrown the famous yellow feather cloak which was so many years in making, & over the table before the King was another of black & yellow feathers & almost equally splendid. The King seemed ill at ease, & appeared not to know what to do with the skirts of his coat. He is a portly fine looking man, very dark & wearing a formidable moustache. But

by far the most dignified & best looking man present was Judge Turrill the U. S. Consul.

When all was ready the King took from his pocket his MSS speech, written on thin paper which he found great difficulty in turning over, with his gloves on. He read with great hesitation, being it is said not very well. It had the appearance however of arising from the too great tightness of his regimentals, for he seemed to be continually gasping for breath. While he read his speech the Ministers continued standing. When it was through Gov^r Kekuanaoa stepped out of doors & repeated the substance of it to the people.

A committee was appointed to reply to it.

The original autograph I have obtained for preservation.

The whole exercise at the parliament house occupied less than $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour. The Kings speech was little more than 15 minutes long.

The reading of the ministerial reports was deferred till the next day. I forgot to mention that two young natives wearing feather capes stood behind the King each of them holding a large & magnificent Kahili or flybrush of feathers. They were some 15 feet in length & 10 or 15 inches in diameter, the feather part being something like half the whole length. One of them was black, the other of red & yellow feathers. These were formerly the principal badge of royalty.

Friday 30th Ap'l. Attended the examination of the Punahou School for the children of the mission. It is under the care of Messrs Dole & Rice & Miss Smith. The scholars appeared to good advantage, & evidently have a thorough drilling, especially in the languages. In the PM the exercises were diversified by a couple of short dialogues.

Mon. [May] 3^d This morning the long expected ship *Montreal* came in & all the town were agog for letters & packages. To my great joy I found one from my Sister Mary, dated Oct 3^d & containing the welcome intelligence that at that date all were well.

Sat. [May] 8th After dinner called at the Palace by ap-

pointment with Alexander, Lot, & Mr Douglass to see the old regalia of the Kingdom, the two splendid feather cloaks & numerous feather capes, used on public occasions—the cloaks are very heavy, one of them yellow & the other yellow & red. Their value, reckoning the labor of taking the birds & making the cloaks is almost incalculable. They were made in Kamehameha 1st time, the yellow one being begun long before. The feathers are fastened to a kind of network, which is very strong. The capes of yellow red & black are valued at from 10 to 100 or 200 dollars according to their size.

The large Kahilis we also saw. They are 14 or 15 ft in length, the feather part 6 or 7. The feathers in little tufts are fastened to the ends of little wires or branches of some sort which are tied to the central stick. The handle is plaited with alternate rings of tortoise shell & ivory & is very elegantly finished. The yellow & red Kahili is of the same kind of feathers as the cloaks. The black one of a different sort.

The King was present & rec'd us very affably; he was in a dressing gown, without cravat & with his shirt bosom open. When we went in he was in the verandah smoking his segar, which he retained in his fingers until we left. After remaining 15 or 20 minutes we took our leave.

Frid [May] 14th. Took tea at Mr Damon's. Called to see Mr Stark at the mansion house & talked about California. He is supercargo of the Bark *Toulon* & came in this morning.

According to his representations the opportunities for business, especially in the surveying line, cannot be very great. The Gov^t is at present military & accommodations are scarce. Hope to see for myself before long.

[Wednesday to Saturday, May 19-22, are occupied by a ride around the Island, of which journey a long and detailed account is given. In company with Mr. Rice, the narrator visits Mr. Bishop's station at Ewa, the station of John S. Emerson and Peter J. Gulick at Waialua, Mr. Emerson's "out station" at Hauula, and Mr. Parker's station at Kaneohe.]

Monday [May] 24th Flags flying & at noon cannon fired in honor of Queen Victoria's birthday.

Rec'd an affectionate & characteristic letter from Mr Coan enclosing an order for \$10 by way of a present. Truly I cannot be grateful enough for the kind friends God in his Providence has thrown me among. I am on every side overwhelmed with kindness.

Tues & Wed [May 25 and 26]. Busy in getting things in readiness to depart.

Tues P.M. went on board the *Montreal*. She is a noble Ship & has splendid accommodations. Seeing so fine a ship just on the point of starting direct for the US by way of China almost made me homesick. Mrs Nye whose husband is a sea capt. now on the California coast takes passage in her & two or 3 other passengers. I send a letter to sister Mary by this ship.

Sat. [May] 29th. A.M. Went to the Palace with Alexander & Lot to purchase a Rifle of the King. Found his Majesty in the veranda of his house with some of his attendants. He soon sent for 2 or 3 pieces, which were loaded & fired in the Palace yard to try them. None that he is willing to dispose of will quite answer my purpose. The rifle is too heavy to carry, & the light double barrel fowling piece is not fit for heavy game. The King rec'd us kindly & was in fine spirits.

Eve. called at Mr Damon's & stumbled into a Church meeting at his study, called by Mr. Brinsmade in consequence of a statement in todays Polynesian that he had been refused communion in the Church whose rules he had originally drawn up.

Monday 31st. Packing and making calls. &c.

Wed. Jun 2^d. Finished packing boxes etc. & after dinner got the natives of the establishment to convey them to the vessel lying at the wharf.

I take with me the following letters of introduction—From Judge Turrill to Com. Stockton, Walter Colton, Capt. Dupont of the *Cyane*, U.S.N. From Mr Armstrong to Com. Stockton & Mr Colton. From Mr [R. C.] Wyllie minister of Foreign relations to J. A. Forbes Vice Consul

at San Francisco, & to Mr Hartnell of Monterey. From Mr Ten Eyck, US. Com[missioner] to T. O. Larkin Esq late US Consul. From Mr Stephens, Naval Agent, to Purser Speiden USN. & Maj. Swords USA. From Mr Damon to Mr Colton. From Dr Judd to T. O. Larkin Esq & from Mr Richards to Lieut Halleck, of the Engineers.

Thurs. June 3^d 1847. Instead of getting off this morning as was designed the *Euphemia* does not sail till this afternoon, which gives me time to write letters & take my leave deliberately. I find it exceedingly trying to part from the many kind Christian friends whom I have found here. The missionaries & many others have proved themselves true friends by their numerous acts of kindness. I shall have reason to remember the S[andwich] I.^s with love & gratitude as long as I live.

At 4 PM having taken leave of my dear friends, I went on board the Brig *Euphemia*, Capt [Thomas] Russum, & at 4¾ we were under sail & moving out of the harbor. A number of Mr & Mrs Grimes friends went outside to see them off, among them Mr De Fiennes Esq & his wife, Capt Carter & his wife of the Mansion house, Mr Suerkron the Danish Consul, Mr Pitman of Hilo & several others. When the guns were fired Mrs De Fiennes clung to her husband acting like a fidgetty baby.

When outside, the pilot Capt Penhallow left us with all the rest of the company, and 3 cheers were given on each side at separating. We went out with a fine breeze & Honolulu & the Island had quite a different appearance from what they did when I first came in a little more than a year ago. Every thing now looks green—then it was all barren. We steered off to the S.W. & the town fast faded in the distance, till at sunset it was entirely lost sight of & only the outlines of the mountains of the Island remained.

Our cabin is a small one perhaps 10 or 12 feet square & about 5 high. It contains 6 berths only 4 of which I believe are occupied. The Capt has one, Mr Davis the Supercargo the one opposite the Capt's. Mine is the after berth on the Starboard Side, & the one opposite to it is

occupied by a passenger, a mechanic, Mr Griffin I believe by name.

Mr & Mrs Grimes occupy an apartment next to the cabin, amidships, which was designed originally for a store & salesroom & which makes them very comfortable quarters. They have their furniture with them & a couple of sofas placed together makes an excellent bed.

About 9 AM I mastered strength to go on deck where I found we were off the east shore of Kauai, her course being for Hanalei to get butter & other stores.

When approaching the harbor of Hanalei, a gun was fired for the pilot Mr Kellet but he not coming up the Capt brought the vessel to anchor himself off the mouth of the Hanalei river.

The boat was immediately lowered & Mr & Mrs Grimes, Mr Davis & myself went on shore. I landed at the mouth of the river whither Mr Johnson & Mr. Titcomb came to meet us, while the rest went in the boat up to Mr Titcomb's place $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile beyond.

After calling on Mrs Wilcox (Mr W[ilcox] has gone to Honolulu) I rode over to Mr Titcomb's, & soon returned with Mr & Mrs Grimes to Mr Johnson's where at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ we took an early tea.

Mr & Mrs G[rimes] spent the night at Mr Johnsons, I at Mr Wilcox's, it being determined not to sail till next day noon on account of the potatoes which cannot be got sooner; all the butter that can be had Mr Johnson furnishes, Mr Kellett, where it was expected to be had, not having any.

Sat June 5th. At 3 PM a gun was fired from the ship for us to come on board, & we soon made ready to do so, proceeding to the mouth of the river $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile distant to take the boat which came off for us. Our provision boats went off at the same time. We were soon on board & fresh provisions & vegetables enough for a six months voyage—a dozen hogs, plenty of turkies, duck & fowls, a milch goat, nearly a hundred bunches of bananas, with taro, yams, potatoes &c &c &c.

Anchor was soon up & by 6 PM we were out of the harbor under pilotage of Mr Kellett.

Friday June 18. Mr Grimes was taken violently ill on Sunday & has been very low since, great pain, fever, watchers every night; too ill myself to be of much assistance. Messrs Davis & Griffin have watched with him. Some of the time we have considered him in danger. He is now a little better.

His little boy Frank had been ill & was just getting better. He was removed to the fore hold to prevent his crying from disturbing his father.

The only medical book we have on board is the little pamphlet accompanying the medicine chest, poor medical help for a difficult case.

Mon June 21st We are now 18 days from Honolulu & not half way to the coast. Our hope is to get in before July 4th at least. Mr Grimes is gaining a little but is still very feeble & requires watchers at night. It is well that Mrs G[rimes] is here as it would have been very difficult to take care of him without her assistance.

I am beginning to read a little & have begun to look through [John] Millington's [Elements of] Civil Engineering [Philadelphia, 1839] which I procured of Judge Andrews. Saturday, Capt Russum made me a present of a nice pair of woollen gloves & part of a case of drawing instruments embracing drawing pen, protractor &c, so that with what I manufactured at Oahu my supply is now tolerably good.

The Sabbath on board passes off merely as a day of rest; all is quiet. I have no strength to perform public religious exercises, even were I invited to do it, which has not been the case.

Our ships company is a very agreeable one, very different from that of the *Mariposa*; every thing goes on harmoniously.

We have 6 at the first table in the Cabin—Capt Russum, Mr Colbath the mate, Mrs G[rimes], Mr Griffin, Mr Davis & myself.

Thurs June 24th Mr Grimes is slowly gaining, sits up a little & begins to have some appetite.

To-day we had a fine dinner of baked pig, it being St John's day, a day celebrated by the masonic fraternity of which Capt Russum & Mr Davis are members. The Lodge at Honolulu were designing to keep the day with great splendor.

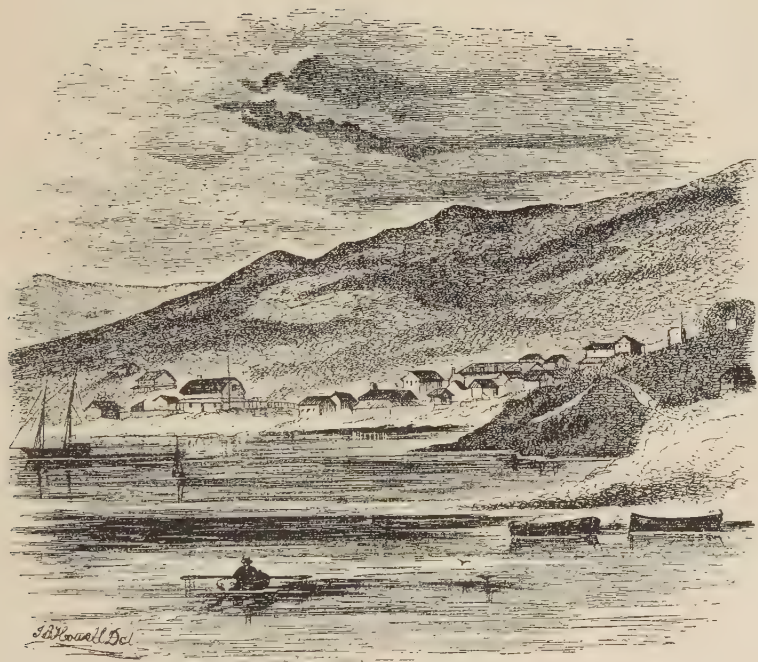
Tues [June] 29th Roused at 6 AM by Capt shouting "Helm hard up. Up mainsail. Man overboard." In a moment the brig came round, & a boat was let down to go after Jim Brown New Zealander who had tumbled overboard while drawing water to wash decks. A Kanaka jumped over & swam to hold him up till the boat reached him which it did in a few minutes & took him in. He had sunk 2 or 3 times but had taken in but little water. The event produced considerable excitement on board as it was quite doubtful whether he could be rescued. Mr Griffin who had been a whaleman jumped into the boat as steersman without hat & barefooted.

Wed & Thurs. [June 30th & July 1st] Wind North, & on Thurs. blew a gale. Sea very high, & thru night broke over the brig often.

Frid. [July 2^d] More moderate. Made land at 6 PM 30 miles or so north of the entrance of San Francisco Bay. Stood off & on thro' the night.

Sat. July 3^d, 1847. Land near. Stood for the entrance. Weather cold as it has been for 3 or 4 days, like March in N[ew] E[ngland].

The entrance to the bay is bold & striking. Its width is some $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, the shore on either side rocky & precipitous. The tide, which rushes in with great velocity, & a strong breeze bore us rapidly into the bay. On the right at the entrance & entirely commanding it is a fort [Castillo de San Joaquin or Fort Blanco], which is now undergoing repairs by the U.S. forces. The opposite point is also ultimately [to be fortified] & also White [Alcatraz] Island which lies just within the entrance, thus rendering the place a second Gibraltar, commanding the



SAN FRANCISCO FROM THE BAY, 1847

entrance of a bay 100 miles long, & receiving some of the finest rivers on this side the continent.

The Indians, as I was informed by Capt [William Antonio] Richardson, the present custom house officer [he had arrived in California in 1822, and was captain of the port from 1837 to 1844, and again in 1846-1847], have handed down a tradition that the present outlet of the bay was formed by the action of an earthquake & that formerly this body of water was a fresh water lake having its outlet at Monterey 120 miles down the coast. Capt R[ichardson] mentions the rapid enlargement of certain creeks around the bay in corroboration of this tradition. But to my eye at a first glance it seems hardly possible, that if such a thing ever took place it c'd have been within the limits of Indian tradition. But of this enough here.

The anchorage of Sou Salito [Sausalito], 6 miles N.W. of San Francisco, on the opposite side of the inner part of the entrance, we passed on our left; The *Columbus* line of battle ship & the [*Congress?*] are lying at anchor there.

A 2 PM we came to anchor abreast the town which lies on the west side of a semicircular harbor, between two small promontories, the bay opening from it towards the East & South.

Soon after coming to anchor, we were boarded by Dr [Alfred A.] Townsend, & an officer from the *Congress* [Com. Stockton's ship] for letters, & soon after, Mr [Hiram] Grimes being let down into the boat, we all went ashore, rejoicing again to set our feet on *Terra firma*. Mr G[rimes] being too ill to walk he was carried from the beach to Capt Grimes' house, a few yards from the shore by the natives. [Eliab Grimes, uncle of Hiram, had visited California in 1838 and 1842, becoming a resident in 1844.] When we landed a piercing damp wind was blowing furiously down towards the water from the west, & the appearance of the town with its shanty looking huts was anything but inviting.

Mr Grimes was not at home having started a week since for his farm 120 miles up the Sacramento, to be gone a month or two. His house was open however, Mr [Richard

M.] Sherman who is left in charge of the store being there to receive us. The disappointment of Mrs Grimes on seeing the house where she was to take up her temporary residence in California was quite manifest. Instead of the fine mansion she occupied at Honolulu, she found a low, one story brown, irregular, hut-looking concern, attached to the W end of a still worse looking shop or store. It had been occupied by a California sort of bachelor, & the black dirty floor, the dark paperd walls, smoked ceilings, of its small room came in strong contrast with the well furnished apartments she had left behind. The rooms consist of a small front one with one window of a single sash, a dining room adjoining & a kitchen adjoining that, together with the poop deck cabin of a ship in the yard which she is to fit up for the Parlor, & which is dignified with the cognomen of "Kent Hall" from the ship to which it once belonged. It was now filled with Capt Grimes trunks &c & the other apartments mentioned with old furniture boxes & dirt.

Two sofas were immediately placed together & a bed prepared for Mr [Hiram] Grimes, & the house was soon set in tolerable order for passing the Sabbath. Mr G[rimes] was immediately visited by Drs Guillio [Chas. F. B. Guillon] & [William J.] Powell, of the *Columbus* & *Warren*, vessels of war, & by other officers of the *C[olumbus]* & *Congress* who happened to be on shore, they having become acquainted with the family while at the Islands. They all seemed astonished to see Mrs G[rimes] in so rude a country, & their reports of [the] place did not tend to excite in her very high expectation of enjoyment from the society, or even the weather of San Francisco.

I soon learned that some of the officers of the Army & Navy to whom I bore letters of introduction had left the country to cross the continent for home. Gen Kearnery [Kearny] & Col. Fremont left early in June, & Com. Stockton is just on the point of starting by the usual northern route, a different one from that of Gen Kearney [Kearny]. Had I been in season I should have endeavored to join the party of Com. S[tockton] in doing which I

should doubtless have found little difficulty in consequence of the several letters which I had to him personally & his known liberality & kindness. His party is now some 40 miles up the bay & it is too late for me to think of making the attempt.

I went on board the brig with Capt Spalding [Russum?] to sleep, having been refreshed by a good supper of beef steak prepared for us soon after our arrival on shore.

Sunday, July 4th After breakfast went on shore.

It being the 4th the day was made more than usual a day of hilarity & dissipation. There is no religious service in the place & an oration & public dinner were advertised to come off in the afternoon at the public hotel [Brown's Hotel]. The dinner I was told was attended by a large number & the oration was delivered by Mr [Robert] Semple editor of the Californian [the first California newspaper], & one of the proprietors of a new city-site to be called Benicia at the head of the bay. The performance was described as resembling the stereotyped dish usually served up on such occasions by stump speech makers & small orators in the U.S.

Taking a turn through the principal street of the Town nothing struck me so forcibly as the immense amount of drinking & gambling & horse-riding done. Almost every 3^d person you met was drunk. Passing the hotel, a drunken fellow, just able to sit on his horse was attempting to spur the animal to ascend the steps of the front piazza, while Dr Townsend with a large stick was assisting in the rear & a lot of drunken swearing gentry stood looking on and applauding. But the horse, the only sober creature in the group, showed more sense than them all & utterly refused to submit to his drunken master. Among those standing around & in the Hotel the officers of the navy were numerous & conspicuous. Not far from the hotel I passed a grog shop & bowling-alley from which the sounds of drunken revelry & awful profanity were issuing most hideously. The streets were filled with drunken cut throat-looking

horsemen, riding at full speed, with oaths, shouting & the rattling of huge Spanish spurs at their heels.

A little further on I met a company of horsemen in masks & fancy white & red dresses riding full tilt into the town from [Robert T.] Ridley's Ranch a little to the west. I supposed them bent on some sort of frolic of course & afterwards learned that they were practicing a favorite mode of making money in the country, by stooping to pick up a piece of money from the ground while riding at full speed on horseback. Persons who choose throw a quarter of a dollar or half on the ground & instantly, with unfailing accuracy, the horseman rises in his saddle with the piece in his fingers which he retains for his pains.

A Californian on horseback is a curious object. He rides at full gallop, & his conical, broad brimmed, glazed black hat, long black hair, & dirty bewhiskered & moustached face, with his poncho, huge Spanish saddle, enormous wooden stirrups & heavy, rattling spurs, give him a reckless cut-throat appearance, which cannot well be equalled.

The whole town has been one scene of uproar & confused dissipation, & gambling. The Sabbath is said to be usually here a time of revelry, & this was perhaps worse than usual by reason of its being 4th of July.

During the day a large number of navy officers & others called on Mr & Mrs Grimes. Mr [Charles L.] Ross also called. He has been here a few months, & is the first professing Christian I have met with. He keeps a store here & has been in business in N.Y. He is member of the Baptist Church, & seems to be zealous to do good. He informed me that a small Sunday School has been established here [organized in May, 1847, by Oregon Methodists, with J. H. Merrill as superintendent], & a prayer-meeting, attended by the few Christians here, is held every Sabbath eve. I was sorry it was not in my power to be present on acc't of being obliged to go off to the brig before night to sleep.

After what I had seen I could not help thinking, that for any sane man to witness the effects of Rum here, would of a certainty make a temperance man of him, whatever may have been his opinion previously. I went on

board with sad reflections on the state of morals here & with a livelier apprehension than ever of the inestimable blessings conferred on my native N.England, by the institutions bequeathed to them by the Puritans.

Monday. July 5th Assisted Mrs G[rimes] in putting the house a little in order. In the eve there was a Ball at Brown's Hotel, given by the Navy officers & citizens.

The Hotel is the largest building by far in the place & rents for \$2000. It was built & is owned by Capt Liedsdorff [William Alexander Leidesdorff], a Swiss who owns much property here. [Leidesdorff was a native of the Danish West Indies; he arrived in California in 1841.]

Mrs. Grimes attended the Ball & I slept in the room with Mr Grimes to take care of him in case of need. The little boy was also unwell. Mrs G[rimes] returned about 2 o'clock, having been highly amused by the performances of the heterogeneous company of dancers, consisting of navy officers, Americans, Spanish Californians, Mormons etc etc, the elite of the place, yet among them was Jack Mitchener a sot recently from Honolulu & others not much better. The dancing & waltzing in particular were anything but respectable. The company mostly did not leave till 4 AM & many of them by that time had become sufficiently mellow.

A Spanish Fandango which is said to be an immodest, & rude kind of dance, blended with plenty of intoxication, came off on Sunday Eve at the "Mission" some 3 miles from town.

Tues. [July] 6th Took a ramble to the south, over sand hills covered with thick & tangled shrubbery, through which I noticed the paths cut for the lines of the Survey of the town recently accomplished by Mr [Jasper] O'Farrel.

After dinner I called on Dr Powell, at whose room I also met Dr Guillio [Guillon] of the *Columbus*.

In the eve, Dr L—— called. He is an episcopal clergyman, originally from Conn., settled in Western N.Y. Has been a sort of missionary at the west, health failed, came out as surgeon of the N.Y. Regiment in the *Brutus* [ar-

rived at S. F. April 17, 1847] the appointment of Chaplain not being obtainable. He has set up an apothecary shop, & intends to practice. Has left his wife in the U.S. He took occasion to say that he never visited the hotels, &c &c. From others I have heard that he does occasionally take a glass of brandy & water at the bar, & that he excused himself from treating others on acc't of his clerical character. His influence if gossip speaks truth cannot be what that of a Christian minister should be.

Lodged in the loft of Mr Ross' store, where I had placed my cot.

Wed. July 7th Just a year since the U.S. flag was hoisted in California [at Monterey] by Com. Sloat, since which time, Com^s Stockton, Shubrick, & Biddle & Gen Kearney have successively been at the head of affairs. Differing from each other in policy much difficulty has been produced, & great excitement prevails in refer[ence] to the dealings of Com. Stockton & Col Fremont. As officers of the U.S. they freely borrowed money & purchased horses & stores of the inhabitants, & enlisted volunteers at a stipulated price, & apparently in good faith with the full promise of speedy payment; & yet they have sneaked out of the country leaving their bills unsettled to the amount of some half a million of dollars & to the great injury & embarrassment of multitudes concerned. Messrs Davis [William Heath Davis] & Grimes have claims against Col. Fremont to the amount of \$5000 for money lent, horses &c, having Col. Fremonts express agreement that the pay should be forthcoming in a few weeks. The prospect is that they will be obliged to await the action of Congress before they will get their compensation.

Thurs July 8th Called on Mr O'Farrel the surveyor, & had a conversation with him. Found him an agreeable man, & apparently well skilled in his profession. He has abundance of surveying to do, & proposes to let me survey, at halves, I doing the field work, he the draughting. His price is usually \$10 a mile, & from 4 to 5 or [more] miles may often be done in a day. This at any rate will

give one a support, & after visiting the south I think I shall engage with him temporarily.

Friday. July 9th 1847 The chief article of food here appears to be beef; vegetables are scarce. The potatoes we have on the table are fine, & a few meals of green Peas have been very delicious. I have not tasted any before since leaving home. We have also had a taste of Beets & turnips, which were very good. The beef is of a medium quality. Milk is difficult to procure, notwithstanding the abundance of cattle. Horses are not so plenty as before the Revolution & command higher prices—from 20 to 50 dollars for a good one. To day we had some Pears. They are rather small & only of a medium quality.

My lodging I have taken up in the house where Dr Powell quarters. It belongs to Mr John C[offin] Jones, the family being now absent & the Dr & myself the only inhabitants. [Jones, who had arrived in 1830, returned to Boston in 1846, and died there.]

Sat. [July] 10th This place is the most rowdy & dissipated one I was ever in. There is drunkenness at every turn. Thurs PM while I was in Mr O'Farrells office adjoining the Hotel he was suddenly called in to help quell a disturbance in the hall occasioned by a party of drunken navy officers; knives & pistols were drawn & but for the timely interference blood would doubtless have been shed, Mr. McDougal being just on the point of shooting Mr Whitaker a navy officer when the pistol was knocked from his hand by Mr O'Farrel. Towards night there was another row, a party of drunken seamen from the *Congress* having been shut up in the watch house began to break down its walls although guarded by a line of soldiers, & had to be taken aboard ship for safe keeping.

Sun [July] 11th At 4 PM Rev Mr [J. W.] Newton chaplain of the *Columbus* preached on shore in the new building of Mr Ross to an audience of 30 or 40 collected on short notice. He gave us an excellent sermon from the 19th Psalm. He spent the rest of the PM at the house with Dr Powell & myself, & seems to be a most excellent man.

In the eve I attended a prayer meeting at Mr Ross'

store; there were but few present, Mr Ross Dr P[owell] Mr Oliver & his wife & two others, the last four being Methodists. Dr P[owell] is an episcopalian & Mr R[oss] a baptist.

The day has been far more quiet than the last Sabbath, there being very little stirring [on] the streets & little noise; occasionally a Californian at full gallop or a drunken sailor w'd arrest the attention. The stores however are nearly all open on the sab[bath] & much business is transacted. The day seems to be principally devoted to pleasure & drinking & gambling.

Tues. 13th July. This morning Mr [William Heath] Davis returned from the other side of the Bay with his "ladylove" her sister & mother. The young ladies are elegant & even handsome, of medium size & figure, rather slender, black hair & eyes, & light complexions. The elder almost perfectly resembles Mrs Dr Babcock of New Britain. They had been since Sunday at midnight getting over, having high wind, & being driven far down the bay. They suffered much from wet & cold, as it was a cold night & the spray dashed over the boat continually.

They are unable to speak English & none of our household but Mr Davis speak Spanish. Capt. Richardson, who married their aunt [Maria Antonia Martinez] was in & Capt Cooper & some others who had a long chat with them. Such fair young ladies w'd be attractive teachers of Spanish & were I to remain with them I sh'd have to make great proficiency. Their family name is Estudillo. The eldest's name is Conception, the other Maria [de] Jesus.

This PM at 4, Mr Ward next house to us gave Com. Biddle a Dinner. Mr & Mrs G[rimes] Mr D[avis] & his ladies were invited. I did not get honored with an invitation & of course can say nothing from observation. It was an excellent dinner however & the ladies did not return till about 7 PM.

Wed. July 14th During the AM Dr Powell & myself took a walk westward beyond Ridleys calling at several tents & shanties in that region. A Swiss family we found in a low tent. The woman was large & fat & resolute & seemed

in good spirits. She had been 15 yrs from Switzerland & came last fall from Missouri by land. Her husband was just commencing a house. They complained that snakes entered their tent, two or 3 having been found under their bed. The families in the shanties are chiefly Mormon. They appear to be steady & industrious. Their houses are very small, consisting of but one room. They may be built in a day. Mr Lincoln's where Mrs G[rimes] & I called this PM was built day before yesterday & yesterday they moved into it. Notwithstanding it was a very comfortable habitation.

Thurs July 15th Got a horse of Mr Ridley, & at 10½ AM started on a ride with Mrs Grimes, Mrs [Andrew J.] Grayson & Mr [John C.] Cash, Lieut of marines on board the *Columbia*. We rode first over a very sandy road to the Mission of Dolores about 3 miles south or S.W. of the town. It is at present in a dilapidated & ruinous state. The buildings were originally extensive & built in long ranges around an extensive court. Most of them are now in ruins & untenable. Some portions are yet occupied, & the Church or Chapel is kept in repair. The Priest of the Mission, an Indian, was out & we did not see him. The Chapel was open & a little dried up old woman acted as guide. The Chapel is long & narrow, built of heavy adobie walls, paved with square bricks or tiles, & painted over head in gay colors. The part of the floor next the altar is a little raised & made of boards. The interior of the Church is used as a burial place. Near the door on one side was the grave of Mr [Thomas] O[liver] Larkin's child which died a few months since & on the opposite side that of Capt Hinkley [William Sturgis Hinckley] who died here a drunkard. Nothing marks these graves but the slight displacement of the paving stones. On opposite sides of the hall, were two coarse paintings representing Heaven—& Hell. Heaven was filled with various winged figures flying amidst clouds &c &c. The picture of hell was in two distinct compartments an upper & a lower, both of which were filled with various implements of torture & devils putting them in operation.

The upper story was exclusively devoted to the men & the lower to the women. Some were being broken on wheels, some pierced thro' with darts, others hanging by the heels, others roasting over fires &c &c. The collocation of the two sexes w'd seem to indicate that the female sex was the worse of the two inasmuch as they are thrust into the lowest depths.

Near the buildings are extensive & flourishing gardens belonging to Capt Leidesdorff. They were filled with all kinds of vegetables & must be very profitable. We entered the hut of the Irish gardener adjoining; his wife & two little ones were at home. They came across the mountains last fall. Helping ourselves to a few onions & radishes, we mounted our horses & in company with Dr Moseley [Samuel Mosely, of the U. S. *Congress*], Lieut [Theodore P.] Green [U. S. *Congress*], & Mr [E. St. Clair] Clark [U. S. *Columbus*], Com Biddles secty we rode 2 or 3 miles southward towards Mr Andrews Rancho. But finding the wind very troublesome we turned back, stopped half an hour or so at the mission & obtained some refreshment, with salt & vinegar for our onions. A sort of hotel or refreshment house is kept here in a dark gloomy apartment by Mr & Mrs [Horace A.] Skinner, who are Mormons. The bar, filled with liquors, seemed to be the principal attraction.

Mrs Grayson we found to be a lady-like intelligent young woman, who came last fall over the Mts. They are from Louisiana. Mrs G[rayson] describes the journey across the Continent as by no means disagreeable or difficult. They enjoyed excellent health, slept soundly in their waggons or in the open air, had plenty of fresh provisions, no rain, no heat, but a pleasant temperature. They traveled from 4 to 20 miles a day & were 5½ months getting over. The Californian Mts. presented the greatest obstacle. But Mrs G[rayson] & her husband crossed them alone in four days—they extend from 75 to 100 miles. They expect to locate in this place. [Mr. Grayson later became widely known for his descriptions and drawings of Pacific Coast birds.]

Spent the eve at Mr Grimes'. Besides the Señora & Señoritas Estudillo, there was present the daughter of Capt Richardson of Sou Salito [Sausalito]. This young lady is the one Capt Wilkes speaks so highly of. Her mother he says was one of the handsomest women in all California & the daughter was the inheritor of the beauty of the mother. Her mother & also Señora Estudillo were daughters of Señor [Ignacio] Martinez one of the first families in the country. Wilkes speaks of them at some length. [*Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition*, vol. 5, Philadelphia, 1845, pp. 194-196.]

Miss Richardson is of rather more than medium size & height, with a fine figure, a dignified lady-like carriage & a full fine face, & expressive dark eyes. She is certainly very handsome & is said to have been formerly much more so. Wilkes calls her 17, which w'd make her now 23 or 24. Notwithstanding the suitors which she is described as then having she is not yet married, tho' I understand it is from no lack of candidates for her hand. She does not speak English but understands it well. She is lively in conversation & the eve passed very agreeably, much entertainment being produced by Mr Davis translating Wilkes remarks into Spanish for the edification of those most interested. All the ladies present are mentioned, in Wilkes work, & they seemed much entertained by his remarks. Miss R[ichardson] in particular of whom most was said took the matter very coolly as tho' accustomed to flattery, & made many lively remarks respecting the author & his account of her family. She spends the night here.

I am told she has a strong aversion to foreigners in consequence of her lover having been killed by Col Fremont or his party during the late revolution. He was a Californian, but a man whom her parents w'd not give their consent that their daughter should marry. He was a dashing, reckless fellow. His sister was at the ball here July 5th.

Señorita Richardson it is said will hardly treat the American officers with civility. No wonder.

Sat. [July] 17th At 3 PM I went with Mr Newton on board the Line of battle ship *Columbus*. Her complement of men & officers is over 700. Many have been discharged hereat their own request to set up in business. A Law office has just been opened by a couple of sailors from before the mast; Yankee like they take up all branches of business. Indeed it is curious to observe in this place the transitions men have made from one employment to another. From the *Columbus* I passed to the Frigate *Congress* lying near by in order to call on Purser [William] Speiden to whom I bore a letter from Mr Stevens of Oahu. I found Mr S[peiden] confined to his bed by Rheumatism. He was comfortable however & I spent an hour with him very pleasantly. He was connected with the exploring expedition & of course has been in these parts before.

Dr Ebersfield [Charles Eversfield], whom I had seen on shore, kindly conducted me about the ship.

Sun. July 18th The *Independence* ship of war came to anchor this PM, being a week from Monterey. Rev Mr [Chester] Newell the Chaplain we met on returning from service. He had come up by land.

T[homas] O. Larkin Esq. dined & took tea with us; he has just come from up the Sacramento & goes to Monterey about the middle of the week.

Tues [July] 20 The auction Sale of Beach & water lots in front of the town of S. Fran^{co} commenced to day. Tho' there were not many present the competition was considerable & lots of 50 yds by 16 sold for from \$100 to \$600 or 700, some of them being 30 ft under water. The spirit of speculation seems to be rife & many have doubtless purchased with a view to sell at an advance. Before night however some who had bought backed out, by pay[ing] the 5 per cent required by the conditions. The remaining lots will doubtless be cheaper. Writing today most of the time for Mr Davis, bringing up his Leeward acc^{ts}.

Wed July 21st Sale of lots continued; went as high as yesterday. Much dissatisfaction at the fee charged by the Alcalde Mr [George] Hyde for bond & deed &c, amounting to 6.12 per lot of 50 yds long by 17 broad.

July 22^d Thurs Rose early & got ready to start with Mr Larkin for Monterey, Mr L[arkin] having been so kind as to offer me a passage with him in his waggon. He had purchased this establishment, a fine pair of mules & a covered waggon up the Sacramento whither it had been brought across the continent.

We left St Francisco at 9½ there being of our company Mr L[arkin] Mr Read of S[anta] Clara & myself in the waggon & Capt [William G.] Marcy & Mr Fairfax on horseback. Capt. M[arcy] is son of Ex Gov^r Marcy of N.Y. & belongs to the Reg^t of volunteers.

We reached the Mission of Dolores 3^m in ½ an hour notwithstanding the sandiness of the road. Here we stopped a few minutes for Mr L[arkin] to see the priest about the grave of his child in the Chapel, the pavement over it having settled. Mr L[arkin] gave the Padre \$5 to have it repaired, & rec'd a hint from him that the \$25 paid at the time of the burial was for the Church & that more money w'd be acceptable for himself. Mr L[arkin] accordingly gave him \$16. The Padres I understand have no salaries but depend for support upon their own [exertions] & the fees they get for marriages, funerals &c. The expense of a marriage in this country especially when a foreigner marries a Catholic Californian often amounts to from 500 to 2 or 3000 dollars, this being exacted by the priests, for the dispensations & other operations required on the occasion.

Leaving the Mission at 10^h 20^m our road lay through a rolling country for several miles, over which the chilly damp winds swept with great violence. A high bleak point around which we passed has been appropriately called Cape Horn.

Our road soon turned to the left towards the Bay & entered a fine open plain. The Ranch of the Sanchez family we passed about 18 miles out, & 5^m beyond the farm belonging to the Mission of Dolores, the building being in ruins & untenanted.

At 3. we stopped by the way to lunch on some pies & pears which Mr L[arkin] had provided; we started on at

3¾. At this point the plain begins to be covered with wild oats which continued till we reachd Santa Clara some 20^m with the exception of a few miles where the plain is densely covered with wild mustard. The plain in many parts is covered with scattered groves of a species of oak, which has a short trunk with a full spreading top & makes a beautiful appearance, there being no underbrush. Near one of these trees we saw a carcass over which were scores of vultures contending for the titbits, while 2 or 3 Chiotas [coyotes] or Foxes were standing at a little distance anxious for their portion, but not bold enough to take it from the birds. We also started on the plain a couple of fine Deer which bounded across our path with great agility & soon disappeared. With a rifle 2 fine shot[s] might have been had at them.

At 7. we reached the Mission of Santa Clara which is situated on the same unbroken plain not far from the extremity of the Bay. This Mission like the others seems to be in a ruinous condition, the chapel being the principal part kept in repair. The house of Mr Forbes (Jas. Alexander) is in the Mission building just E of the Chapel & contains commodious rooms. Here Mr Larkin & myself stopped for the night while the rest of the company with the waggon went on to the Pueblo of San Jose 2 or 3 miles beyond. Mr Forbes is the British Vice Consul & I had a letter of Introduction to him from Mr Wyllie. He remarked that he had heard of my coming before & rec'd me with apparent cordiality.

Supper of steak, stew & lentiles was served about 9 & at 10 Mr L[arkin] & myself retired. Our lodging room which was on the ground floor having previously been swept to diminish the number of Fleas, we undressed & got into bed as quickly & carefully as possible; but it was all in vain on my part. The night seemed extremely long. At last however Mr F[orbes] rapped at the door & called out to awake us. I sprung up though it was perfectly dark, & then for the first time discovered that the apparent length of the night was in part occasioned by the window blinds being closely shut so that all light was excluded.

On opening the blinds & looking at my watch I found it full 8 o'clock, the sun being already high in the heavens. We dressed in all haste, as it was time we had been an hour or two at least on our journey. The sheets in which I had attempted to sleep looked like calico from the amount of blood scattered over them & I was sore from top to toe; never was I more glad to leave a lodging room than I was this.

Mrs Forbes (a Spanish lady [Ana María Galindo]) & two or 3 children were at the table both at supper & breakfast but neither of them were introduced. Indeed Mrs F[orbes] seemed to have nothing to do with the arrangements of the table, spake not a syllable, & apparently had no higher rank than head servant of the establishment. Mr F[orbes] has been long in the country [he arrived in 1831], is fine looking & intelligent, but apparently tinctured with pride.

He is at present active in procuring the expulsion of the emigrants from one [of] the missions where they have temporarily taken up their abodes for want of other shelter, the mission buildings being otherwise entirely unoccupied. An order has been rec'd from Gov^r [Richard B.] Mason to drive them out. This is a matter which seems likely to make trouble.

Our road from the Mission to the Pueblo was a beautiful one finely shaded by two rows of a species of willow. The land thro' all this region is a fertile plain & is equal to any in the country. Near the Pueblo is a fine tract belonging to Mr Forbes which Com Stockton has been negotiating for at \$10,500; the bargain however may not be closed on acct of the refusal of Mr F[orbes] to give a guarantee deed which Com S[tockton] wishes.

The Pueblo [San José] consists of a few miserable houses with one or two exceptions, tho' it is a place which must grow in consequence of its location & its fine land.

At 10³/₄ we startd on, our route lying over the same beautiful plain already described. This plain is shut in by ranges of hills from 3 to 6 or seven miles apart at the base, & extends uninterruptedly from the Bay of S. Fran^{co}

as far as Monterey nearly 100 miles & how much further I know not.

The plain is every where covered with wild oats which afford nourishment for grazing animals of all sorts. It grows about 6 foot high & very thick. It ripens soon after the close of the rainy season in the spring & the kernel immediately falls out. Food enough might be gathered on these plains to support cattle without number. At 2 PM we stopped a few minutes at Fisher's Ranch a dirty place, where Com. Stockton spent a night. The water was horrible & every thing about the premises looked filthy, tho' it is at present owned by an American. Its occupants are yet natives however, the proprietor being engaged elsewhere.

Murphy's ranch we passed on the left about 19 miles from the Pueblo. Mr [Thomas] Douglass who has been rustivating here I wished to see. But hearing that he designed to go to Monterey with us & not having a saddle on which to ride to the Ranch I sent a note to him by Messrs Marcy & Fairfax who were to call there, expecting to see Mr D[ouglass] at our stopping place at night. These gentlemen however did not see Mr D[ouglass] & even forgot to deliver the note. Mr D[ouglass] had gone out to ride.

About 5 we passed Carlos Castro's Ranch, in a nook of the hills at the right. Here we left most of our horses, they being too tired to proceed further. Near the house was a grizzly Bear tied by a rope to a tree, & at a little distance a young fawn. The bear was partially tamed.

At 7 we reached Mr Larkin's Soap Factory which is about 45^m from Monterey & 5 or 6 miles out of the usual route to that place.

The establishment is an extensive one & employs several hands. The building is a good frame one, & the concern is now in charge of a young German, who manages it at halves. Mr L[arkin] says he may make \$2000 a year if he chooses.

Instead of ashes, a natural product is used for making the lye, obtained from the plain some 4 leagues distant. It

resembles ashes & is said to be some salt of soda. It is deposited on the plain during the dry season & is easily gathered. Nearly all the California soap is made from it. It does not make so strong a lye as ashes. The boiler in the factory holds 400 Bbls or about \$3000 dollars worth. Tallow is obtained at 1.50 for 25 lbs & the profits on the soap are large. It sells at present for 10^{cts} per lb.

Our beds we made on the floor, but little sleep did most of us get, at least I can speak for myself. The fleas were very troublesome & then there was an incessant howling of the 70 dogs belonging to the establishment in answer to the cry of the Chiotas [coyotes] in the neighboring woods. Such a variety of howling I never heard before. It seemed as if all the wild beasts of the forest had united to give us a serenade.

We rose at 5, had breakfast at 6 of beef & bread & coffee & at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ were on our way towards Monterey.

Sat. [July] 24th For 5 or 6 miles our path was across the plain, till we reach[ed] the hills on the right or west side which lay between us & the town. The plain itself extended off to the left as far as the eye c'd reach. Our road now for 20 miles or more lay through a rolling, hilly country & was not as good as it had been, tho' here by no means particularly bad.

At 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ we stopped by a little pond or laguna to lunch & remained till 12.

After leaving this place we soon entered the Silenus [Salinas] plain another extensive level tract several miles wide & stretching off to the south 18 or 20 leagues. Crossing this we reached St John's or Monterey river about 10 miles or so from Monterey. It is a pleasant stream & at this season easily fordable tho' high in the rainy season. From this place our road was over a higher sandy tract for the most part till we reached the town. The soil is poor & mostly covered with brush & stunted trees.

When 6 or 7 miles off came in sight of the harbor, the town & the shipping at anchor. The *Warren*, *Erie* & some smaller vessels were lying there.

We reached the town at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM & drove to Mr Larkins

house, the mules giving a most cacophonous salute as they entered the place. The town has a neat appearance & most of the houses appear large & commodious. Mr Larkins is a large two story adobe house with a double piazza [piazza] in front & at the W. end. I immediately called on Mr [Walter] Colton & delivered my letters. Took tea & lodge at Mr Larkins. Have the honor of occupying Gov^r Mason's room, he having left a few days since to see to a mutiny among the troops at St. Barbara.

Sunday 25th July. There is no worship on the Sab[bath]. Dinner of Fish & Mutton we had at 1½ PM.

Mr Larkin brought with him from the Sacramento a boy named Hook 14 or 15 yrs old who came across the Continent last fall from Illinois. The boy lost his Father Mother & brother in the California Mt^s but survived himself with his sister & another brother; his feet were badly frozen, & he became emaciated to a mere skeleton. It snowed 18 days in succession; traveling was excessively difficult, & he lived for 14 days without food, chewing only the pitch of the pine tree. He slept on the snow, & says he kept up good courage. [Solomon Hook was one of the survivors of the Donner Party.]

Eve. called on Mr. Colton. He is Alcalde of Monterey & Judge in Admiralty. His year of Office expires Sept 15. The post is a very laborious & responsible one, as many knotty questions of law are constantly coming up, which, especially in the present transition state of things are not easy to settle. The Gov^t is in fact a military one, while the laws in force are wholly Mexican. And tho' the two nations are at war one case has occurred of a Citizen of the U S prosecuting a Mexican before the court here for stealing, & another of a Mexican prosecuting an American for libel—the latter being the Case of Mr Gardner [William R. Garner] Clerk of the Court here vs Mr [Thomas J.] Farnham a lawyer here who slandered Mr G[arner] in a book which he wrote not long since. [The objectionable remarks were printed in Farnham's *Life and Adventures in California*, New York, 1846, p. 90: "After all had passed this ordeal, a Botany Bay convict, by the name

of Garner, was called in evidence on behalf of the government. His testimony removed all lingering doubts. He established the unqualified guilt of all. Graham, in particular, who had been preferred over him as commander of the foreign riflemen in Alvarado's revolution, and whom he had previously attempted to kill, he declared to have formed a scheme of ambition, which, had it not been discovered, would have dug the grave of every Spaniard in California! This man's testimony was written out and signed by his murderous hand. It may be in time a blister on his perjured soul.'']

Mr Colton mentioned to me an instance of the strong prejudice which exists on the part of the Californians ag[ainst] the Mormons.

A woman came to him & complained against a man that he had struck her boy & called him *Mormon* & she wished the culprit hauled up & punished. The striking part she said she cared nothing about, but to have her son called a Mormon was more than she could put up with.

This feeling is quite general & the impression seems to be that the Mormons will not be able to form a distinct political or other party. They seem on the whole to be gaining a fair reputation for industry & sobriety. 400 of them who had volunteered were discharged at the South July 16th & many of them will probably remain there, as they had gained the good will of the inhabitants.

As a general thing the Californians seem reconciled to the change of affairs tho' there are individuals who express strong antipathy to the Americans. A young lady of this place utterly refused to attend any ball where Am[erica]n officers were present or rather said, she w'd not attend one till she c'd go to it wearing a necklace composed of their ears. She deserves a pension from the Mexican Gov^t for her patriotism.

Mon 26th July. Called on Mr [William Edward Petty] Hartnell at the Gov^{rs} office, he being Gov^t translator, & delivered the letter of Introduction which Mr Wyllie gave me.

Also called this AM on Lieut [Henry Wagner] Halleck

of the Engineer Corps [afterwards General Halleck], with a letter from Mr Richards. Was much pleased with him; he is a young man & has a high reputation.

Was introduced to Mr [Elijah] Snyder who is appointed surveyor for this district.

Wed [July] 28. Saw a man who was attacked a day or two ago by the Californian Lion, or panther. The animal sprung upon him suddenly when out hunting about 2 miles from town & seized him by the leg. Having no chance of using any weapon he seized the creature with his hands & after a hard struggle, in which his leg & hands were badly bitten & torn, he succeeded in strangling him & brought his prize with him to town. He also heard bears in the same vicinity.

Sat [July] 31st Eve took tea at the fort with Mr Halleck's mess at their tent. There were present Lieut [Edward O. C.] Ord, commandant of the post, his brother Dr [James L.] Ord, Mr Halleck, a Spanish gentleman & an officer whose names I forget. Waffles shortcake & cold beef, with Tea & Coffee formed the repast.

Called also with Mr H[alleck] on Lieut [William H.] Warner of the Engineer Corps & was introduced to Mr Bester [Norman H. Bestor] of the same department. Bought of Mr Warner a pocket sextant, which had belonged to an officer who had gone home.

Returning from the fort Mr H[alleck] & myself with another officer went to the Indian gambling places just back of the village. Near a large fire, seated on the ground was a group of Indians young & old, male & female engaged in their peculiar game. One individual held in each hand a stick, his hands being under a blanket. While a rude kind of song or chant was kept up by himself & others, he kept his hands & whole body in motion, apparently changing the stick from the one to the other till the opposite party had guessed which hand contained a particular stick, when the hands were held up & according as the better hand lost or won a tally was kept by laying down sticks on the ground. Presently the chant & the gesticulation were taken up by the other party & the game

went on, both those interested & the spectators of the group manifesting the most lively interest. A few rods distant was another fire with another group just entering on the business of the night. Nearby was an extensive grog shop filled with Indians & Californians.

Gambling is an amusement of which the Indians are passionately fond. They go at it in this manner every Sat. eve & keep it up all night & often till Monday morning, staking not only their money but also every rag of their clothes & even their wives & children. Meanwhile they get intoxicated & before morning usually fall to fighting & make a great disturbance. The loud chant is heard in various parts of the town & next morning the resulting shouts of quarreling & fighting are equally noticeable.

They are often brought before the Alcalde to be punished for breach of the peace & Mr Colton was proposing the other [day] to try the effect of putting switches into the hands of the combatants when brought up, & compelling them to whip each other till they got tired of it.

If entirely deprived of the privilege of getting drunk & gambling the indians quit the town & none can be hired to do work. They are a dissolute, degraded set.

Sun. Aug. 1st The first thing I saw on stepping out this morning was a group of Californian boys before the door pitching dollars. A man on horseback was looking on. A few rods off, proceeding from an enelo[sure] I heard the loud savage chant of some company of gamblers who had been at the business all night & in another direction the uproar of indians engaged in quarreling & fighting. The Alcalde does what he can to diminish the evil but he cannot prevent it at present. Liquor is the curse of Californians of all classes.

This morning our breakfast was not ready till half past nine, in consequence of the indian cook being off on a drunken frolic; for the same reason there is today no dinner at all. The fellow has such a blow up regularly once a week, & often his debauch lasts so long that he is unfit for his duties till past the middle of the week. In this particular there is very little choice among them. They are

all alike & those who are obliged to employ them are compelled to put up with it.

The sand plain in front of the town is every where covered with bones & fragments of slaughtered cattle, cattle which emit a most noisome smell. The Alcalde has ordered all such offal to be burned, & to a certain extent it is done. But the smell of putrification is still very strong & undoubtedly must be detrimental to the health of the inhabitants. At least, so thinks the army physician whom I saw last eve. There is now much sickness in town, principally an intermittent fever of the typhoid cast. It is very severe & generally runs 3 or 4 weeks; 60 of the soldiers are now confined by it & many of the town people are suffering likewise.

Thurs 5th Aug. Took a ride on horseback with Mr Larkin up the Valley of the Carmel 10 or 12 miles. We left the town over the hills toward the south & about 2 miles out turned aside to see a new stone quarry from which building material[s] are obtained. The stone is of the same kind generally used in town, a cream colored fine grained stone, so soft as to be easily shaped with an axe or saw & yet very durable. The hills about Monterey appear to be composed of it almost entirely.

We had to descend into a deep ravine at the bottom of which we found an encampment of wood sawyers consisting of a Spanish family & two or three Americans. At this place is a scattered growth of Redwood or California Cedar which makes the best lumber in the country; the trees grow to a great height taper rapidly, & contain only short meager branches. The lumber is sawed by hand, an arduous employment.

The dwelling of these people was made of branches of trees loosely interwoven. In one corner stood a bed with a curtain of mats, & in another part of the concern were several other beds made of boards & raised 2 feet above the floor. A very young looking mother sat nursing a sick child. While the mother & another buxom daughter were busy cooking dinner outside, the men [were] taking their noonday rest under the shades of the trees around.

We reached the Mission situated on the East side of the stream just at the head of tide water, & not more than 2 miles or so from the ocean at 4 oclock, & we rode thro' fields of potatoes which had sprung up spontaneously from the leavings of last year. We noticed also several fields of corn, but it was low & did not seem to be doing well.

The Mission buildings are mostly in ruins like the other missions, the Chapel & apartment of the priest being almost the only portions kept in any repair. We saw a padre in the fields with a Chinese umbrella over his head. From the Mission we soon rode to town 4 miles distant mostly by the same route by which we had left it.

The day had been extremely beautiful. In crossing the hills however between Carmel & the town we were enveloped in a dense driving [fog] which we passed through before getting in. We reached Mr L[arkin]'s about 6 PM having had a very pleasant ride of 20 or 25 miles.

Friday 6. Aug. Took [dinner] at Lieut Warner's tent with him & Mr Bestor. Plain stew of Beef hard bread & rice, served in a tin pan & eaten from tin plates, in camp style, with water to drink, a pleasant meal.

Eve. called at Mr Hartnells & spent the eve. His daughter a very pretty girl of apparently 17 or 18 was in the room holding an infant the youngest but one of Mr H[artnell]'s family of 19 children 13 of whom are now living. Mrs H[artnell] is now sick of the fever which is so prevalent in the place. Offered me liquor & water. [Hartnell, who arrived in 1822, had married María Teresa de la Guerra in 1825; they had 20 sons and 5 daughters.]

Mr H[artnell] is an excellent linguist, speaks several languages, & is now translator for the Gov^t. He has been in business on the Coast 25 yrs, but has been unfortunate & is now poor.

Sat. Aug 7th 1847 Fine day, have been trying to find horses to go to San Francisco, but in vain. Have concluded to start on Monday with two of the family of Escobars who are going to Santa Clara to the festival of that Saint. They give me a ride on their [horse?] as far

as the Pueblo or S. Clara for \$10. Mr [Josiah] Belden with whom I wished to go starts tomorrow. Of course I will not travel on the Sabbath & consequently must wait & go with the Californians on Monday.

There is almost no Sab[bath] in Cal^a. Business is transacted as usual, or if there is any difference it is in business giving place to amusement, hunting fishing &c & with the "baser sort" gambling & drunkenness & the like. Men bred in Yankee land are as bad or worse in this respect as any. The absorbing object of all is to make the most money in the least time. The land is full of speculators. In fact many persons who come here are those who have left home in consequence of some prominent failing of char[acte]r & the like exhibits itself here. Particularly is this true in reference to intemperance. Everybody here drinks & makes no scruple about it. The municipal authorities have just been enacting some new laws to check the grog shops in town—such as raising the license from \$5 to \$10 per month, requiring a bond of \$1000 for keeping an orderly house & laying a duty of \$8. per barrel on the Spirit purchased. The effect it is hoped will be to break up the low shanties set up by Tom Dick & Harry just to make money by selling grog.

Sailors & others have found it so profitable a business, that they would immediately go into it, a few dollars only sufficing to put up a rude shanty & buy a small quantity of liquor to commence with. Many of these establishments have cleared from 20 to 50 dollars a day. The curse of the country in fact is liquor. There are now 16 or 18 grog shops in this little town. The new regulations may diminish this number a little.

Sun. Aug 8th To day Señor Escobar came to tell me that he could not take me to the Pueblo short of \$12, tho' he had yesterday offered to do it for 10. I told him I would have nothing to say about it, & wd not go with him except at the original price. After much talk which Mr Larkin interpreted he s[ai]d he w'd take me for \$11. I told him I w'd not go; he then came to his original terms. This is

a specimen I am told of the way in which Californians are in the habit of extorting money from travelers if they can.

Mon. Aug 9th 1847 Started a little after nine for the Pueblo & San Francisco. The horse which my guide Sen^r Escobar furnished me was soon equipped with my yankee saddle & Mexican bridle & loaded with my saddle bags & blankets. In half or $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour we reached Escobar's ranch, at the door of which sat his wife on a bullock's hide sewing. My companion soon changed his garments, put on his finest for the Festival, swallowed his eggs & bread & was ready for the start. His wife was a pretty enough woman; 2 dirty urchins were playing about. In the one apartment was one bed, a musket, a few trunks, & dirty picture of the Virgin ornamented with flowers & in one corner were a number of bottles.

The morning was very hot. At 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ we started on, by a route different from the one by which I had come to Monterey. Crossed the Monterey river at 11 $\frac{3}{4}$, 15 miles from the town. The Silenus [Salinas] plain spread out before us. At 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ we stopped at a Ranch on the farther side of it. At 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ stopped again by a little stream to rest our horses & refresh ourselves a half or $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour. Soon after starting again we overtook Capt Thompson with a drove of cattle from Santa Barbara. Capt T[hompson] was my ship mate from the U.S. We soon passed him & reached our stopping place at Sen^r Castros, at 4 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Sen^r Castro & his wife at the door rec'd us kindly, & as they saw that I was somewhat tired with my ride of some 45^m a bed was soon spread under the corridor on which I was invited to rest myself. But not feeling sufficiently weary to indulge myself we all walked into the fine fields of corn etc near the house. Onions, peppers, turnips, cabbages, melons, squashes etc were growing in perfection. The lady was quite disposed to be talkative & with my scant knowledge of the Spanish I contrived to hold quite a chitchat with her, for the conversation went on even tho' I c'd not understand what she said.

The house is of adobes with the earth for floor, a dismal looking place. On the mud wall on one side of the room

was a picture of Santa Barbara in a gilt frame & another of Our Savior bearing his Cross. On the opposite was a small crucifix & rosary, picture of the Virgin etc, etc. In the same part of the room were two beds; a table, bench & trunk or two completed the furniture of the house. Half a dozen children were playing around which the good matron seemed to take much honest pride in. They all had scripture names, such as Trinidad, Santa, Presentation &c &c. Such names are very common in the country. I have already met with such as Maria Jesus, Concepcion, Espiritu Santo, Encarnacion, etc. Even an old Canon of 1675 at the fort in Monterey bears in large letters the name of Jesus.

Preparation for supper commenced soon after we arrived—several vessels were heating over a large fire out of doors, a quantity of Green Corn was brought from the field, & just at night a fine fat sheep was slaughtered & dressed at the door. Being tired & hungry I was in dismay when I found that the animal w'd have to be dressed & cooked before I could have supper it being near eight oclock before it was dressed. At length however a cloth was spread on one side of the table where the bench stood, several plates were placed, & the smoking ribs appeared fresh from the fire. They were divided into small portions & distributed on the plates by the good lady; a large dish of boiled green corn & another of cheese were bro't on & we were invited to take our places. Another & myself took seats on the bench, the rest stood up. Looking for my knife & fork I found none & a glance showed me that none were necessary for all took hold with their fingers, an ear of corn in one hand, & a rib of mutton in the other. I of course did the same. The mutton was very sweet & the corn delicious, the first I have tasted in the country. When we had done justice to these two dishes, the plates were removed, washed by the landlady & her daughter & sent back filled with a stew of squash, called here Calabasa, which was indeed very excellent; to eat this we had iron spoons. This was followed by a dish of stewed dried pears & the meal closed with coffee in large bowls with

large iron spoons. On the whole I made a most excellent supper, tho' it was after 9 before it was finished. There being 4 strangers present I had some curiosity to know how we were to be disposed of. Presently however I was directed to my bed spread on a bench outside the house under the corridor, & a large bed which our host & hostess usually occupied was brought & spread by the door for the rest of the strangers, our kind entertainers spreading some sheeps wool on their wooden bedframe & preparing a rude sleeping place for the night. Tho' I had little but the bright starlit sky above I wrapped myself in the blankets & had a good nights sleep.

Before supper I was much interested in seeing the little children of the family 5 in number all kneel down upon a hide of leather on the floor in the house & go through their evening devotions which lasted some 15 or 20 minutes, & consisted of chants, responses, prayers &c &c. They seemed to have been exceedingly well drilled, & the impression the sight made on my mind was a happy one. As they closed with chanting a hymn the Mother with conscious pride came to me & asked if it was not "buena" good. What a pity so much apparent devotion should not be combined with more of the real than is usually the case.

At break of day, the father with the children commenced their morning worship; their voices were clear, the chants & responses musical, & it was really delightful to see a family that greeted the first rays of dawn with ascriptions of praise [to] the Creator & preserver of all things tho' as far as I c'd understand the Spanish the main burden of the worship was addressed to the Virgin Mary.

The morning was clear & beautiful, with a bracing air of about 62°. Taking a hasty breakfast of roast corn & fried mutton, at 7 ock we started on our [way], a brother of Escobars & another Californian accompanying us a few miles till their route separated from ours. In 2½ hours we reached Murphy's ranch 20 miles distant, where I found Mr Douglass, & took a lunch with a bowl of milk. Our principal entertainer was Miss Ellen M[urphy] a girl of much good sense. The family was originally from

Canada via Missouri [reaching California in 1844]. They have been 2 yrs in the country & possess a fine farm. At 12 we started for the Pueblo, Mr D[ouglass] accompanying. The weather was very hot the Ther. standing at 93°. The Pueblo 18^m distant we reached at 3½ pm, stopping at Capt [Charles M.] Webers who is a German & keeps a store & hotel here. Inquiring for horses to take me to San Francisco I found I could not procure any unless at an exorbitant [price]. I accordingly set out on foot just at night for Santa Clara 3 miles off in hopes of getting an animal from Mr Forbes the Eng[lish] Consul. Greatly fatigued I reached his house at dusk & found it impossible to procure a horse here at any rate. The night I spent at Mr Forbes, in the same room I occupied 3 weeks ago but was much less annoyed by the fleas. At daybreak I was aroused by the ringing of the Church bell, the beating of drums & the firing of little mortars, a row of which each 4 or 5 inches long with a calibre of an inch or inch & a half, I afterwards saw in front of the Church on a piece of plank. They appear to be fired perpendicularly up. At sunrise there was another concert of the same sort, & several afterwards at intervals of half an hour or so, bating the firing. These little guns in connection with a Church festival are I presume what are called the Ecclesiastical *Canons*—or *Canons* of the Church.

The Chapel being open I stepped in. It resembles very much that of the Mission at San Francisco, being plentifully adorned with pictures, wax figures, streamers crucifixes, altars, confessional chairs, etc. The indian choir was rehearsing some pieces of music in preparation for the festival of Santa Clara tomorrow, that being the day of Santa Clara, the patron saint of the mission. I could not learn that much more was anticipated in the way of celebration than the performance of high Mass. Many Californians were gathering from the neighboring country, but the object of most w'd seem to be dissipation rather than devotion.

Being disappointed about a horse I footed it back to the Pueblo in season for breakfast at Capt Webers. The

walk between the two places, beneath the overarching rows of willows is delightful.

At the Pueblo I was fortunate in finding a party just in from the Sacramento & from one of them I procured a good horse at a cheap rate to ride to San Francisco, & at 10½ Mr Douglass & myself started on, taking the road to the right of the mission in the direction of Allen's farm where we intended to stop over night. Four or 5 miles out we crossed the creek which runs thro' the Pueblo & stopped long enough to bathe in its cool waters beneath the bridge, the weather being very hot. After a detention of half an hour we rode on much refreshed & at 1½ PM reached Allen's which is only 10 or 12 miles distant from the Pueblo instead of 18 as we had been told. The road lay over a perfectly level plain & some 3 or 4 miles from the bay. Tho' our ride had been short & it was early in the day, we thought it best to stop for the night for want of any good lodging place further on.

This part of the plain furnishes, it is said, the finest wheat land in all the country. The soil is rich & here sufficiently moist. The grass is rank & tho' somewhat dry affords abundant food for stock. Mr Allen himself was absent at Sonoma, but a son & daughter with her husband Mr [William M.] Mendenhall were at home, with 2 or 3 smaller children. They were living in a house of 1 room 12 or 15 ft square & partly finished, the doors & windows being all open & a wide space at one end reserved for a chimney, so that there was no want of fresh air.

About sunset Capt [Joseph Libbey] Folsom of the army made his appearance to stop for the night with several horses. Capt. [Folsom] is just returning from an expedition up the Sacramento, & had with him the equipments of Major [J. H.] Cloud who was killed [Aug. 3] at Suters [Sutter's] Fort by being thrown from a horse.

At night Mr D[ouglass] & I occupied one of the two beds in the room, the other being that of Mr Mendenhall & his young wife, the rest of the family making their beds on the floor. Capt Folsom & his attendant slept on the ground

in the open air. In the morning 4 of his horses were missing & he was detained to search for them.

Thurs 12 Aug Mr D[ouglass] & myself started at half past 7 for San Francisco 40 or 45 miles distant.

We reached Sanchez at 1 & stopped an hour to bait horses & get a drink of water. Saw 2 or 3 rather pretty girls one of whom is to be married in a day or two. This family is hostile to the Americans, & do not much like to be troubled with their company, tho' they treated us with civility enough, inasmuch as it was amply paid for.

Our route the rest of the way was thro' a rolling hilly country & we had not proceeded far before we began to feel the San Francisco climate. First I buttoned up my coat. Then as the wind blew stronger put on my heavy overcoat. Soon a handkerchief around my neck became necessary & lastly my thick woolen gloves; notwithstanding all which defences the cold blustering wind rendered the riding very uncomfortable especially in passing the promontory called Cape Horn where the foggy blasts sweep up from the open sea without let or hindrance. We reached town at 6. PM cold & hungry & at my old stopping place Mr Grimes I met a hearty reception. Mr G[rimes] had gone to S. Clara & reached there a few hours after I left.

Sun. Aug 15th 1847. This forenoon went with Mrs Grimes on board the *Independence* to attend divine service, Capt [Eric A. F.] Lavalette of the *Congress* sending his boat to take us off. The boat touched at the *Georgian*, recently from Valparaiso to take Mrs Walsh & Mrs Kelly with her husband [William H. Kelly] the Capt of the vessel; also at the *Congress* for Capt Lavalette. Reaching the *Independence* a little too early for service we passed a few minutes in the Commodores Cabin where I was introduced to Com. [William Branford] Shubrick & several other officers.

The service was read & a sermon preached by Rev Mr Newell the Chaplin. His sermon was on the necessity & nature of the atonement. It was injured by his faulty manner.

Soon after service I came on shore, having previously taken a hasty look about the ship while the boat was getting ready. The ship is a noble one & mounts 55 or 60 guns.

Tues [Aug.] 17th Find no launch going to San Rafael where I wish to go to meet Mr O'Farrel & engage in surveying with him. In order not to lie idle I have half a mind to go to Monterey with all my things & set up with Mr Snyder. Capt [John B.] Montgomery of the Sloop of War *Portsmouth*, thro Dr Powell has kindly offered to take me down on board his vessel, which is to sail tomorrow. In walking this PM with Mrs Grimes we met Capt M[ontgomery] & he expressed his desire that I should accompany him. I was extremely pleased with his gentlemanly affable manners. He is said to be a most excellent man & member of the Presbⁿ Ch[urch]. He thought he should sail early in the morning or at least drop down a few miles to wait the best tide. I concluded not to get my things on board tonight, as I was not quite ready, & wished to make further search for a passage to San Rafael.

This eve Mr [William Davis Merry] Howard [his wife was the adopted daughter of Capt. Grimes] Dr Powell & Mr Ward being in, Mr H[oward] sent to his store for some oysters in tin cases which were cooked & made us a fine supper at 10 PM reminding me strongly of New Haven.

Wed [Aug.] 18. This morning the *Portsmouth* dropped down 2 or 3 miles, & while I was making preparations to be off I fell in with Capt [William] Fisher of the Pueblo [San José] who wished me to go down & survey his Ranch of 4 leagues.

Consequently I let the *Portsmouth* go without me & am making preparations to go to the Pueblo by the first launch sailing that way. AM busy in getting etceteras together, sticking pins, Inks &c. &c.

Bot a 6 barrel revolving Pistol, tho' I hope never to use it.

Have had a lost horse to pay for, the one I rode in from

the Pueblo last Thurs. I had done the best I c'd to deliver him into the hands of Mr McDougal at the Hotel as directed by the owner, & do not feel at all responsible for his being stolen from the Hotel where I tied him. Yet to satisfy the owner I paid him \$10—in addition to the three which I had paid for the use of him.

Today Señor Estudillo & his daughter Concepcion arrived by way of the Pueblo the daughter designing to remain some time with Mrs G[rimes].

Thurs 19th Aug. This eve. Mr Smith & 2 or 3 others happening in Señorita Estudillo & the Spanish gentlemen present gave us some specimens of Spanish dancing & waltzing, accomplishments in which the Californians excel. Mr Smith played upon the guitar, Señor Estudillo, the father, danced with great grace & effect. I was much amused with the Spanish dances, having thus an opportunity of seeing them without being obliged to go to a ball or fandango for it.

Dr Powell also amused us by an exhibition of ventriloquism, a faculty which he possesses in a high degree.

Sat [Aug.] 21st Getting ready to start on Monday for the Pueblo in Mr Howards Launch.

Eve. writing letters to Alexander & Bernice, young chiefs at the Islands. Mrs Grimes & Donna Conception gone to a Ball at the Hotel from which they returned before 11. Took up my lodgings in the house with Dr Powell, Mr [Nathan] Spear having come from Nappa [Napa] I resign to him Kent Hall, which I have occupied for a few days, he being an old occupant of it.

Sun. 22^d Aug. No service today on board the *Independence*, & Mr Grimes house being full of company I found it difficult to get a place to be by myself. The Sab-[bath] is the general day for visiting here. The house was not free from company all day.

Mon. [Aug.] 23^d Got my things on board the launch & at 4 oclock started for the South extremity of the bay, tho' it was after 5 before we actually got on our way, being detained an hour or more at the *Georgian* to get some freight.

The launch is a small craft, or large sail boat with one mast, having a little cabin at the stern about 6 ft by 4 & 3 ft high. The fleas & the seasickness prevented my taking much rest. The night was a bright moonlight one & with a fair breeze, we were in the mouth of the creek a few miles below the *embarcadara* [embarcadero] by 10 or 11 oclock, where we cast anchor & remained till morning for a tide to take us up the tortuous windings of the stream, which makes over 30 bends in the course of 8 or 9 miles & flows in places towards every point of the compass except some 4 or 5, so tortuous is its course through the low plain which borders it. Our progress up the stream was slow, but by 10 oclock we had reached the landing place, where we found the *Santa Cruz* just ready to start for San Francisco, with Mr Grimes on board. Landing my things I remained for Capt Fisher to send a cart to take them up. A good breakfast I made with the kanakas on roast corn & fried slapjacks. An honest old gardener came up with us who was originally from England, has lived in the U.S., the last 4 yrs in Oregon & now has come to Cal^a. Capt Fisher takes him into his service.

Tues. Aug 24th 1847 Rode to the Pueblo [San José] 6 or 8 miles from the embarkadara [embarcadero] in an ox waggon sent down by Capt Fisher to take up some goods of his together with my baggage. The team was a yoke of American oxen yoked in the Amⁿ fashion, but so little used as to have become rather wild, requiring all the skill of Jimmy, an old English man-of-war's man in Capt Fishers service, to drive them. We reached Capt F[isher's] sun an hour high.

Wed. Aug 25th Set about searching for chainmen in order to go to the ranch tomorrow. Could hear of none for some time except at \$2 per day, that being the price paid by the Pueblo during its survey. At length a rough looking American who had been a sailor presented himself & seemed very glad to get employment at the wages I offered ie \$20 per month, that being the general price for chainmen. At night 4 other ex-seamen came & I engaged one of them, the old gardener who came on in the

launch agreeing to serve as the third. They engaged to be in readiness to go down tomorrow morning.

To morrow morning Aug 26th came, but no chainmen except the gardener who was already at hand. The cattle also could not be found & the horses came in late. We waited till near noon for the cattle & men, but neither came. The cattle however arrived about noon, & I had made several ineffectual searches thro' the town for either the men I had engaged or some other. I learned that there had been a great drinking & gambling blowout at Webers during the night in which my men were engaged, & probably they had either turned in somewhere to sleep off their debauch or left the place. I could find no men who wished to go, & concluded to proceed to the farm & run the risk of finding men there, Meanwhile Capt F[isher] engaged for me a Californian lad & at one oclock Capt F[isher] & myself set off on horseback, the waggon going down to take the men & my baggage.

Reached the Ranch & had time to reconnoiter a large portion of the boundary & reached Murphy's house on the Southeastern part of the Ranch, where we spent the night. The family rec'd us kindly, the old man being a clever, generous hearted Irishman. We had a good supper of eggs, bread & milk, & retired at 10, one of the three beds in the room being assigned to Capt F[isher] & myself. The house being made only of poles stuck perpendicularly in the ground was exceedingly open & the wind being high there was as strong a breeze indoors as out.

After breakfast we mounted our horses & rode along the foot of the hills on the East side of the valley to the other house on the Ranch 5 or 6 miles above, where my trunk &c had been left. Here we found another Spanish boy, for whom we waited till after dinner & then proceeded to the northwest corner of the Ranch near the Lagoon to make a beginning. This we did & ran a line along the plain nearly two miles before sunset.

My quarters for myself & 3 men I have engaged at the house on the Ranch which is occupied by Mr Wilkes an Englishman & brotherinlaw of Capt Fishers having

married a Spanish woman a sister of Capt F[isher]'s wife. For our fare I pay him \$9. per week. Our supper was of fried beef & stewed squash with tortillas instead of bread, water to drink, & no forks, a knife & spoon being furnished. For myself I had fortunately brought a knife & fork with me. Our fare I expect will be generally of the same sort with the addition of beans.

Sat. 28th Aug. We had an early breakfast of coffee & beef, & proceeded to the field on horseback, an arrangement having been made to take us out & bring us back. Our dinner of beef & beans was also brought to us. We ran today about 5 miles over most fertile, & some of it well watered land, so much so as to be swampy even at this driest season of the year. Our old man the gardener complained bitterly of thirst, the latter part of the day there being no water in the vicinity.

Mon. Aug 30th One of my chainmen returned this morning but the other remained sending word that he did not design to work any more. The other two also struck for higher wages, the old gardener refusing to work for less than \$2 per day.

To add to the vexations of the morning, it was ascertained that all the horses 100 in number had been driven off during the night by the indians—of course I have no horses to go to work on. Spent the AM in plotting. In the PM Capt Fisher came from the Pueblo with another man & they with Mr Wilkes & an Indian all well armed started in pursuit of the horse thieves, designing to push their way into their very lurking places unless they got the horses without.

Spent the eve. in trying to bargain with a Spaniard for chainman, neither he understanding much English, nor I much Spanish. He wrote his Spanish on paper & I translated it by means of my dictionary. Could not get him to work for me.

[Extracts from letters of this date, and of dates Jan. 30, Aug. 6, Nov. 6, and Nov. 17, 1848, "Observations on California," in *American Journal of Science*, 2d series, vol. 7 (1849), pp. 290-292, 305-309.]

Wed Sept 1st. 1847 Started with the old gardener Nicolas & a lad 9 or 10 years old to run a line down the east side of the valley. Had been out but an hour or two when we saw a huge grizzly bear looking down from the hills upon us. It being the first I had seen I did not feel altogether easy especially as he was as large as an ox & seemed to be hesitating whether to come down the hill or go up. If he had come down we had none of us any arms but a hatchet. We kept on our measuring however & were soon out of his sight. They are said seldom to attack a man unless provoked. We measured to day some seven miles, or nearly to the south end of the farm & returned to pass the night at Murphys which is a mile or more within the boundary. The Murphys are to dispute Capt Fishers title to this part of the farm on condition that tho' the writings are clear there was some fraud or iniquity in the sale of the land before Capt F[isher] bought it.

Thurs. [Sept.] 2^d Just as we were starting off to our days work an Indian who had been of Capt Fishers party that started after the stolen horses on Monday, rode up saying that the half of the company which was driving the extra horses had got separated from Capt Fisher & his two companions, & not being able to find them had returned for more horses & men to go in pursuit, Capt F[isher]'s party having thus been left in the indian region on tired horses. The party started back in the course of the day. They came up with some of Capt F[isher]'s horses that had been shot by the indians.

To day we measured a couple of miles on the hills at the S.W. side of the Ranch.

Sat [Sept.] 4th Went on to the hills west of the house. Triangulated perhaps two miles. The old man got angry because he had to go down the hill for water & quit off drawing a straight line for the house. I was glad to get rid of the querulous creature especially as his deafness rendered him of little use to me.

Just at night Mr Douglass rode up, having come from Monterey to assist me.

The Gov^r refuses me an appointment as surveyor on the ground that there has been already one appointed for this District. It will make little difference however about my surveying.

Tues. [Sept. 7th] At work triangulating on the hills which bound the valley on the west. They are very steep & almost impossible to chain over. I find my pocket sextant a great help.

The company that went after the horses returned yesterday after being in the Tulares a week. They could find neither horses nor Indians; over 300 horses have been stolen from this region within a few days.

Friday [Sept. 10th]. Three of us mounted our horses & rode around on the ridge of the hills to locate the eastern line of the ranch.

Sat. [Sept. 11th] Commenced measuring the eastern boundary; was much troubled for want of a flagman.

Mon. [Sept.] 13. Started this morning to run the southern boundary of the ranch.

Stopped at Murphys over night. Slept in a waggon body, covering it over with boards; prevented from sleeping much by the fleas.

Tues. [Sept.] 14th Ran the line across the ravine thro' which the Coyote runs & returned to the Laguna house about dark, having taken the wrong track to get down from the hills.

Frid. [Sept. 17th] Went on to the hills to run the line to the Peaked Mtⁿ.

Sat 18th Sept. Was called upon by Mr Murphy & ordered to stop the survey in the name of the authorities at Monterey, in consequence of the conflicting claims of Capt. Fisher & himself.

Mon. 20th Sept. PM rode with Capt F[isher] around part of the West boundary. Returning fell in with Capt Nigley [Henry Morris Naglee] & his company on their way to the Tulares to see to the Indians.

Tues [Sept.] 21st Ran some new lines on the western hills. Returning at night fell in with Gov^r Mason & his suite, who spent the night at the Ranch, sleeping under

the trees near the house. The company consisted of the Gov., Maj. [William] Rich, Paymaster, Lieut [William Tecumseh] Sherman & Mr [James D.] Hutton. They all took breakfast in the house. I asked the Gov for an appointment as surveyor & he readily gave it me. There is nothing like attending to ones own business. The appointment is for the middle district of upper California.

Thurs. 23^d Sept. Finished the field work of the survey.

Frid. 24th Sept. Rode with Mr Douglass to visit the quicksilver mine 5 or 6 miles distant from the Ranch. Called at Mr [Grove C.] Cook's on the way. At the shop at the foot of the hill in which the mine is situated saw Mr [Fernando] Alden the Superintendent, who has been engaged many years in Mexican mines. Found him a pleasant man, but somewhat disappointed respecting California. He says the mine has been greatly overrated. It will yield 18 or 20 per cent of quicksilver. A half pound which he showed me was obtained from half a dozen pounds of ore. The working has not been commenced extensively for want of funds, the vessel in which they were embarked having been siezed by the Americans & confiscated.

Mr Alden walked with us up to the mine which is reached by a winding & steep ascent of over a thousand feet, the mine being a mile & a half or so from the houses at the foot of the hill. Most of the rock of the M^t is greenish, containing much talc. That about the mine is of a darker color. The veins of ore are near the top of the hill & several places are to be seen in the neighborhood where they appear at the surface. The best ore is of a red color & heavy; it occurs in thin beds or veins which are nearly perpendicular, & the bed which contains them is several feet in thickness. The veins are separated by bluish stone or clay & is accompanied by a great quantity of yellow ochre which contains a small percentage of mercury. A hole has been dug several yards into the hill, & the bed is doubtless very extensive. It runs in a S.E. & N W direction.

Sat. [Sept.] 25th Mounted Mr Douglass mule & started

for the Pueblo by way of Cooks Ranch, Mr D[ouglass] taking a seat in the waggon. I found Mr Snyder at Mr Cook's just commencing the survey of the Ranch. Stayed a few minutes & rode on. Mr S[nyder] appeared to be a little disappointed on learning that I had an appointment as surveyor in the same district with himself. Reached the pueblo a little after noon, day hot. Took up my quarters at Capt Fishers.

Mon. [Sept.] 27th Rose early & started before sunrise on Mr D[ouglass]'s mule for Santa Clara to see Mr Davis who has just returned from the south. The fog was so dense when I started that I c'd see but a few yards & it soon collected on my hair & beard so as to fall off in drops.

Found Mr Davis & Capt Simmons, in whose vessel I went from Oahu to Kauai last spring. Breakfasted with Mr Davis at Don Ignacio Alvisos one of the oldest families of California. Every thing was in good style & the house well furnished.

Thurs 30th Sept. Mr Snyder here, interrupted most of the day.

Friday Oct 1st 1847. Two years today since I sailed from New York.

Saw purser [Rodman] Price of the *Cyane* who told me he brought plenty of letters from the Islands for me & left them with Mr Larkin.

Sat Oct 2^d Finished map of Fishers Ranch, for the survey of which I receive \$350. of which 100 goes for expenses chainmen &c. PM went with Mr [James] Stokes to hunt up a piece of land of his on the plain, which I am to survey.

Sun. 3^d. Oct. In the AM Capt Fisher acting alcalde for a day or two during the absence of that officer, was called upon to go & see to a disturbance in the village, the messenger saying that a man had just been killed. It turned out that a drunken Californian for a wager had undertaken to beat some harmless Americans whom he saw passing in the street & accordingly rode up & struck one of them a sick man over the head so as to stun him, when

a young man with him seized a stick & struck the assailant over the head a blow which knocked him from his horse & stunned him, so that he was unable to speak.

Tues [Oct.] 5th Went with Mr Douglass to look up the bounds of Mr Stokes Land. The man died who was struck on Sunday.

Thurs [Oct.] 7th Finished Stokes land, of 2000 varas square.

Frid & Sat. [Oct. 8th & 9th] Mapping Stokes land & drawing a plan of the Pueblo.

Mon. [Oct. 11th] Finished the Map of the Town for Mr Stokes, which he has let the Town have & I am to make him another for \$25. Also have engaged to make a map of the pueblo lands for the same price. They were wretchedly surveyed & as wretchedly mapped by Mr [James D.] Hutton.

Friday. 15th Oct Finished Stokes map, & found he had pocketed the money for the other & gone off to Monterey. But I shall collect it of him in the way the law will enable me. I do not like knavery.

Sun. [Oct.] 17th. At home, heard of much drinking & gambling at Webbers, a terrible place; at night an Indian killed another not far from there in a drunken fit.

Tues. 19th Oct. Finished the map of the Pueblo Lands of the Pueblo; found the survey was wretched in every respect.

Wed. [Oct.] 20th. Measured Mr [Isaac] Branhams 500 acre Lot & found it 300, the surveyor having run some of his lines with a variation of 8° or 9°, or 40 rods in a mile. While on the field a fire came sweeping over it among the grass & mustard & we were obliged to seek shelter from it in the creek, where the smoke was nearly suffocating. In the eve the fire on the plain N of the village & on the ridge of the mountains East presented a splendid appearance.

Just as I returned into the village in the PM a small redwood house took fire & burnt to the ground like tinder in 5 minutes.

On Fishers ranch last night an American sleeping out

was attacked by Indians & over 30 arrows were shot at him without hitting. They killed one of his horses & took off the other 3.

Thurs [Oct.] 21st. Rode with Mr [Robert B.] Neligh agent of Com Stockton to Mr Forbes at Santa Clara to ascertain respecting the boundaries of Com Stockton's farm & also to take a general look at the farm. Engaged to make a survey of it for \$160.

The fires on the mountains again brilliant at night.

Friday [Oct.] 22^d Started after breakfast with Messrs Douglass, Campbell & Wilkes for assistants to survey Com. Stockton's farm lying NW from the Pueblo towards Santa Clara. Ran the boundary as far as that place 3 miles; got a quantity of pears to eat from the orchard & footed it back to the Pueblo.

Sat. 23^d Oct. Continued the survey from the mission to the East side of the river 3 miles. The fires that burnt off the mustard the other day have facilitated my operations much.

Mon. Tues. Wed. & Thurs. [Oct. 25th-28th] Surveying Com. Stockton's farm, find it to contain but 1949 acres instead of a league & a half as had been represented.

Mon. Nov 1st 1847 Surveying Mr Grimes lot No 2, South of the Pueblo.

Tues. Nov 2^d Finished Com. Stockton's Survey.

Wed. [Nov.] 3^d. Finished Mr Grimes Lot No 2. It falls short of the 500 acres by 135.

Thurs [Nov.] 4th Surveyed Capt. Fishers 4 lots of Pueblo land, & found the lines very irregular & the contents only 1275 instead of 2000 acres.

Frid [Nov.] 5th Surveying Mr Belden's 500 acre lot; it will fall short like the rest.

Sat. [Nov.] 6th Surveying Mr Belden's & Mr Branham's lots.

Sun. 7th Nov. Staid in the house. Mr Belden & Mr Farnham called at Capt Fisher's.

Tues. [Nov.] 9th Surveying for Mr Branham.

Frid 12th. Nov. Started on Mr D[ouglass] mule with Mr Belden on a horse of Mr Wests to Pacheco's ranch

some 45 or 50 miles down the valley. We left at 10 AM & reached the Ranch about dusk. The house is on the East side of the valley, 8 or 9 miles below [John] Gilroys; it is a large 2 story house & for a Californian tolerably furnished.

There being no chimney the room was warmed in the eve by a dish of coals. The old gentleman we found kind & hospitable. Capt Nagle [Naglee] had just arrived with his company from his tour among the Indians. He had taken the 3 chiefs of the worst tribe & shot them in the presence of the rest. He had suffered much from cold & hunger, there having fallen a great deal of snow & rain in the last fortnight.

Sat. [Nov.] 13th. At half past 9 we had breakfast of beef & beans, & started at 10 to return having made a partial arrangement to survey his ranch which consists of 36 square leagues.

Reached Fisher's Ranch at dusk & our horses being too tired to go to the Pueblo we stopped till morning, making a supper of beef & atole & getting a comfortable nights sleep on the floor. We could find scarcely a morsel for the animals to eat & accordingly in the morning before sunrise we started for the Pueblo, reaching it before breakfast time.

Thurs 18th Nov Surveying the Lots of Salvador Castro & J. M. Seseña [Ceseña] of Capt Fishers family, who this day are married.

Frid. [Nov.] 19. Same survey; troubled to find the corners. Wedding dinner at the house at four PM. Mr Douglass & myself did not get back till it was over. In the eve went into the Fandango a few minutes at Mr [William] Gulnacs. The men had their hats on, danced in their shirt sleeves or in shirts & pants without vest or suspenders. Both gentⁿ & ladies smoked segars & spat on the floor at random. Saw a few dances & went home, the house being but a few steps off.

Capt [Roland] Gelston of the Barque[?] an old friend of Capt Fishers who came yesterday was with me.

Monday [Nov.] 22^d. AM went with Mr Neligh to show

him the bounds of Com. Stocktons farm. PM fixing the Corner of Mr Branhams Lot No 45.

Tues. [Nov.] 23^d. Writing letters for the U.S. Write to Mr Coe of N.Y. to get me a Theodolite. PM went gunning for geese, shot nothing. Geese very abundant.

Wed. [Nov.] 24th Capts Gelston & Fisher started for San Francisco. Surveying Mr [Joseph L.] Ruckel's Lot No 2 & No 53 which turns out 206 acres instead of 564 which Huttons field notes make it.

Thurs 25^t Nov On Mr Ruckel's Lot No 30 which has 197 7/10 acres instead of 500. Took a bath in the Coyote.

Mon. Tues. & Wed. [Nov. 29th & 30th, Dec 1st] Busy chiefly in mapping. Wed PM took a walk to Sta Clara to see Mr Forbes British Consul about the Inigo farm. He had rec'd a letter for me from Mr Wyllie but had mislaid it.

Sat. 4th Dec Laying off corner of Mr Beldens Lot &c.

Sun Dec 5th 1847 Preaching at Mr [Zachariah] Jones by Mr [Elihu] Anthony a methodist preacher, a very good meeting. 30 or 40 present.

Wed. [Dec.] 8th Rode to Ynigos Ranch 10 miles from the Pueblo to make a survey of it; arranged with Mr West to pack my luggage down on a horse. Obtained quarters for myself & company (of Mr Douglass & Mr West) at Mr Harlan's, who lives in a redwood house, only clapboarded & very open. Find Mrs H[arlan] an excellent housekeeper.

Thurs [Dec.] 9th Rode about the farm with Mr Consul Forbes to reconnoitre.

Frid [Dec.] 10th Commenced surveying & ran nearly 8 miles.

Tues & Wed. [Dec. 14th & 15th] Waiting for Mr Forbes with Señor Peña the principal witness as to the boundary lines. Mr F[orbes] & P[eña] came on Wed.

Mon & Tues. [Dec. 20th & 21st] Warm. Finished the survey, & sent in my baggage by a team from the Redwoods.

Wed. 22^d Dec Walked to the Pueblo, stopped on the way to see Olivers New Flouring Mill on the San Jose. A fine

piece of workmanship, built by a Mormon, a Mr Fisher, wheel 3 ft Diam, reaction on the Barker principle; reached the Pueblo at noon.

Mr Wests horse which got away at the ranch not found yet. Took up quarters at Capt Fisher's again. Mr [John] Ricord & Mr Belden called, & took tea. Mr R[icord] is this way on mining business, he with a company of 8 having denounced the one on Cooks farm, not far from that of Forbes & Co. There seems to be quite a mining fever raging.

Sat [Dec.] 25th Christmas. While at the Ranch got a letter from Mary A. dated Feb 20th 1847, also one from Rev D Trumbull of Valparaiso.

Sun 26th Dec. 1847. Meeting at Mr Jones at 12. Spoke, good meeting.

Eve went with Capt Fisher & family to Juan Berkealis in the village to see the performance called the *Pastores* or representation of the Shepherds going to adore the infant Savior. Found 20 or 30 people in the principal room dancing to a guitar. Soon after our arrival two men on a horse rode into the room they & the horse seeming to be quite at home; after riding about the room stopping to converse with individuals & making an ineffectual attempt to ride into the bedroom they departed, sundry individuals catching the horse by the tail as they rode out of the front door. After waiting an hour or so for the Shepherds to appear it was announced that they were tired out by their previous performances that day & that their visit at that place would be on the morrow. Upon this we went home having witnessed a good part of a Spanish Fandango consisting of a great variety of complicated dances waltzes &c, very much in the jump Jim Crow style.

Mon. [Dec.] 27th In the afternoon the Shepherds made a visit to Capt Fishers. They appeared in a company of 10 or 12, dressed in masks & other fantastic disguises & bearing in their hands staves trimmed with lace & ribbons. 2 men were masked as Devils with horns etc. Another as a hermit in a grey friars gown with a wool sheepskin mask, another as a clown or laborer with a black wool skin

mask & a rod with a cow bell attached to it & his pocket full of trumpery. A little girl dressed fantastically with a huge blue wing behind personified an angel. A stand was placed in the piazza with an image of the Savior. The performers went through a recitative, interspersed farcical actions, jokes, tumbling down, whipping, &c &c after the manner of a low clown comedy at a school exhibition. After performing an hour or so in this manner, much to the amusement apparently of a crowd of natives gathered around & equally to the terror of the children present, they partook of a treat of wines, liquors, cakes etc, & departed to repeat the tomfoolery at some other place. Some of the actors I am told are among the most respectable men of the place. The keen relish with which the Californians seem to enjoy such sports is a poor compliment to their refinement & intelligence, & the association of such foolery with religious scenes is not calculated to give one a very high opinion of the moral influence of Romanism on the people.

Tues. Dec 28th. Mr Douglass returned from San Francisco bringing S[andwich] I. papers & letters to Dec 5, & the N Y Obs[er]ve[r] & Evang[eli]st to April; had a rich treat over the letters & papers.

Wed. Dec 29th Surveying 61 & 60 of the Pueblo lots, found half of each wanting, or other lots laid out on the same ground, bad work.

Frid. [Dec.] 31st Was summoned before the Town Council to give testimony as to Huttons survey of the Pueblo lands. They resolved to send for him to the lower Pueblo & have him tried for fraud & swindling.

Sun. 2^d Jan 1848. Visiting at Mr Jones'. Mr Anthony not [being] present was called upon to fill his place. Extemporized a sermon on "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap &c &c". The house fuller than usual.

Monday, [Jan.] 3^d. Finished Com Stockton's maps.

Frid 7th Jan. Rode with Messrs Ricord, Alcalde [James W.] Weeks & Mr Douglass to Mr Cooks 10 miles out to visit the new Quicksilver Mines of which Messrs Ricord, Belden, Snyder, [William] Blackburn, Christie, Pitts,

Abrigo & one other are proprietors. We spent the night at Mr Cooks & next forenoon rode to the mine some two miles west in the same range of hills as the Santa Clara Mine owned by Baron [Barron] Forbes & Co & about 3 miles north of it. The hill is of moderate elevation and the ore has as yet only been found in the loose rocks on the surface.

The Alcalde officially gave the company possession of the mines & Mr Douglass & myself signed the document as witnesses.

Frid. [Jan.] 14th PM mounted Mr Wests mule & rode with Mr Douglass as far as Mr Harlan's on our way to examine Prado Mesas ranch $\frac{1}{2}$ of which has been purchased by Mr Ricord; wishes it surveyed.

Sat. [Jan.] 15th Got Jas Allen for guide & rode over part of the ranch in search of the bounds, poor success. Returned to the Pueblo PM stopping at Mr Forbes.

Sun. [Jan.] 16. Meeting at Mr Jones'. Mr Anthony preached. Text 2 Kings 5:13.

Mon. 17 Jan PM rode as far as Allen's with Mr Douglass & spent the night taking along my surveying instruments, bed &c to commence the survey of the Ranch of Prado Mesa of which Mr Ricord has purchased half. Spread my bed on the floor & slept well.

Tues. 18th Jan Started with the addition of Mr Allen & his son for Juana Briones near the Ranch to take up our quarters, the house on the ranch being an unfit stopping place. Made my arrangements with Madam Briones, got dinner, & in the PM commenced at the N side of the Chamisal & ran a line of nearly a mile, put up flags &c. The ranch is hilly, brushy & bad to survey.

Wed. [Jan.] 19th. Putting up flag on the hills for the angle of triangles. Find our quarters at Madam Briones quite comfortable. The family is composed of the Widow Briones 3 daughters (2 grown up) 2 or 3 boys, half a dozen indians, 2 little pet pigs in the cook house & 15 or 20 dogs. The two older girls do the cooking; they are rather pretty looking, but like most Californians dirty & slovenly. There are two sick persons in the house, an

indian girl, of fever, & a man, a sailor, apparently a Portuguese, who has a very bad cough &c.

[Jan.] 20th Thurs. Sent Mr Douglass to the Mission 12 miles off to get a part of Madam Briones papers translated by Mr Forbes. Mr D[ouglass] returned towards night.

Triangulating at the S. end of the ranch. Among the hills & Chamisal there. Grizzly bears are abundant. One was seen by an indian a few minutes before we reached the place; & fresh diggings where they had ploughed the ground for squirrels or other game were very numerous. The hills & valleys were covered with their tracks. As we had no arms with us except my small six-shooter, I did not much care to meet one of these creatures, & very much to our satisfaction they kept themselves out of sight.

Friday [Jan.] 21st Running lines on the plain & up the Arroyo de San Jose Cupertino which bounds the ranch on the south.

Sat. 22^d Jan Surveying near the dense Chamisal at the S end of the ranch. Mr Allen & his son only stayed one day at Madam Briones finding that it was as near to go home. Mr Douglass went to the Pueblo towards night & I am here to spend the Sabbath alone.

Sun. 23^d Jan 1848. Some of the family were up at half past 3 AM & a Sen^r Peña & his wife & the oldest daughter started for the Mission.

Wed. & Thurs. [Jan. 26th & 27th]. Triangulating & running the lines along the Natadero & San Antonio, the boundaries of Juana Briones Ranch.

Frid. [Jan. 28th] Juana & daughter & 2 sons & 1 or 2 others started for San Francisco.

[Sunday, Jan. 30. Extract from a letter of this date, "Observations on the 'old crater' adjoining Kilauea, (Hawaii), on the east," in *American Journal of Science*, 2d series, vol. 7 (1849), p. 287.]

Wed Feb 2^d Returned to the Pueblo by way of Allens; reached Capt Fishers at dusk.

Frid [Feb.] 4th Mapped Ynigo Ranch for Mr Allen.

Sat. [Feb.] 5 Surveying Lot 14 for Mr Ricord.

Sun. [Feb.] 6th Meeting at 11, took charge of it.

Mon 7th Feb. Made preparations to go out to the mine of New Almaden to make a survey of the lands granted them. Started late & reached the hacienda at 7½ PM. Found Mr Alex^r Forbes & Mr Walkingshaw [Robert Walkinshaw] in a small house recently built. Mr Forbes is of the firm of Baron Forbes & co of Tepic Mexico, & British consul there. [He is to be distinguished from Jas Alex Forbes.] He is an active healthy sociable man apparently 55 tho' in reality 70. We were kindly recd. The Mexican servant took our mules. Tea was soon ready, & about 11 we retired, our beds being made on benches in one of the two rooms of the small house, the other room being the sleeping apartment of Messrs F[orbes] & W[alkinshaw].

Tues. 8th Feb Rode with Messrs F[orbes] & W[alkinshaw] to Mr Cooks to ascertain his boundaries. Mr C[ook] not at home. Returned.

Wed. [Feb. 9th] Went again to Mr Cooks. Found he had started by another route for the Mine. Took our course across the hills towards the Mine. Saw Mr C[ook], returned to the house below about 1 mile from the Mine. Mr Cook came up with his titles, which were examined.

Thurs. [Feb. 10th] Señora Berreyeza came up with her titles, the word *un sitio* apparently altered by another hand into *dos sitios*. Agreed to send her son to Monterey for a certified copy. PM. Mr Douglass & myself went out on the hills putting up signals—the Señora Berreyeza wishing a survey made of her Ranch in connection with that of the Mining Company.

Frid. [Feb.] 11th Putting up signals around the Berreyeza Ranch, calld the rancho de Capitan Sillos [Capitan-cillos].

Finished observations on the top of a very high hill in a mountainous region about sunset & then had 2 miles to go to reach the house over hills & through deep ravines, & by a way entirely new to us. It was dark before we reached the hills that overlook the ravine in which the houses are situated. Found much trouble in making our

way down the steep hills in the dark. Mr Douglass saddle slipped over his mules shoulders & he was thrown upon the ground but not seriously hurt. At last we made our way out of the ravines & bushes, & entered a path leading to the house where we arrived about 8 P.M.

Sat. [Feb.] 12th Rain ceased about 9. Our mules could not be found & it was afternoon before we could get away to work, to[ok] a lunch, & went to measure a base line on the plain in front of Berreyezas house. Measured a line $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, finishing at $7\frac{1}{2}$ PM.

Our practice in the eating & sleeping line at New Almaden has been to rise between 7 & 8, breakfast at $9\frac{1}{2}$, & retire at midnight. Mr F[orbes] is fond of conversation & we often get into long talks on Politics, Aristocratic customs, American innovations, corruptions of the English language &c &c.

Mon. [Feb.] 14th There are 4 pots now in operation for extracting the Quicksilver from the ore. The average daily yield is from 100 to 150 pounds. The apparatus is imperfect & doubtless much of the metal is wasted. Mr Forbes takes with him about 1100 lbs to Tepic in iron bottles of 25 lbs each. This morning 191 lbs were taken from the receivers for the last day's work.

Tues. [Feb.] 15. Mr J. A. Forbes came from Sta Clara to see about the mining lands.

Wed [Feb.] 16. Raining nearly all day. Streams very high. Mr F[orbes] attempted to cross the Arroyo by the Hacienda but could not. So we all kept the House. Reading the Mexican laws for measuring land. The form of giving juridic possession very minute & explicit. Various discussions with Mr Forbes.

Thurs. [Feb. 17th] Surveying on the hills about the mine.

Sat. [Feb.] 19th Went with Messrs [Alexander] Forbes & Walkingshaw to see about the line between the mining land & Berreyezas farm. They could come to no conclusion with the Lady, but send for Mr J A F[orbes] to talk with her.

The 4 furnaces have yielded very well in Quicksilver

the last few days. The amount of ore put into the 4 pots daily is 1600 lbs; the yield of metal yesterday was 268 lbs or nearly 17 per cent. Some of the pots turned out 20 per cent.

Mon [Feb.] 21st Running the course of the Arroyo de las Allimetas.

Thurs 24 Feb On the hills, ascended half way up the peak called by the Indians *Umunhum*.

Frid. 25th [Feb.] Running the Eastern boundary of the Berreyeza Ranch. Mr J. A. Forbes & Dr [Richard Somerset] Den of Los Angeles at the Hacienda, staid over night. Dr D[en] an intelligent educated Irish Physician.

Sat. [Feb.] 26th Rode with Messrs Forbes &c to Madam Berreyezas; the boundaries adjusted on the hills between her land & Bernalis.

Sun 27th Feb Discussion at breakfast on Catholicism etc. Mr F[orbes] no Catholic except in name. A free thinker. Mr W[alkinshaw] a downright infidel.

Mon [Feb.] 28. Finished the survey of the mining lands.

Tues. [Feb.] 29th Finished Madam Berreyezas survey.

Wed. Mar. 1st 1848 Took leave of Mr Forbes & returned to the Pueblo. Mr F[orbes] leaves for Monterey to-morrow.

Sat. [Mar.] 4th Sent Mr D[ouglass] to survey Mr G C Cooks Lot No 66. Mr Ricord came. [Extract from a letter of this date, on "Mines of Cinnabar in Upper California," in *American Journal of Science*, 2d series, vol. 6 (1848), pp. 270-271.]

Wed. [Mar.] 8th Left with Mr Douglass after dinner for San Francisco. Reached Harlans at sunset. Staid over night.

Thurs [Mar.] 9 Messrs Coffin & Creighton came up at ½ past 8 & we all rode on to San Francisco reaching town about sunset. I went to Mr Grimes, where I made my quarters, sleeping at Mr Howards.

Frid [Mar.] 10. Dinner party at Mr Grimes. Wine. Some of the guests proved themselves to have become rather mellow after they went out to ride. Capt Folsom, Mr Howard, Mr Davis, Capt Hall of the *Barnstable*, Mr

Mellus, Mr Teschmaker [F. H. Teschemacher], Mr Leidesdorf, with the old Gent. Mr [Eliab] Grimes, Mr Hiram G[rimes] & Mrs. G[rimes].

Wed [Mar.] 15 Started with Mr D[ouglass] for the Pueblo. Rain came when 10 miles out. Got soaked thro' & chilled. To make it worse Mr D[ouglass]'s mule gave out from eating too much corn, came near dying, had to go on a walk the last 12 miles; reached Harlans 8¼ PM, all abed, went to Allens, found fire & lodging, dried &c &c.

Thurs [Mar.] 16. Rode to Pueblo without getting wet, arrived at 1 PM,

Mon [Mar.] 20. Finished map of Mr Ricords Ranch.

Tues [Mar.] 21. Mapping Mr Ricords Pueblo Lot.

Wed. [Mar.] 22 Put up box of mercurial ore for Prof [Benjamin] Silliman, to go by water.

Thurs 23 Mar. Went with Mr Douglass to finish the survey of Mr Cook's Lot No 66.

Frid 24th Mar. Mr Douglass started for San Francisco to take the [S. F. Public] school.

Heard by a man from the Embarcadero that my Theodolite had arrived there, it having come to San Francisco in the *Providence* from the S[andwich] I.

Sat [Mar.] 25. Pleasant, rode to the Embarcadero to get the Theodolite. It had not come. But rec'd the invoice of it, cost in Boston \$225—

charges &c 25 = 250.00

Deduct 3 percent 6.75

243.25

There are about \$50 Duties chargeable on it, which at the suggestion of Capt Folsom I have written to the Gov^r to get taken off.

My letters & papers from the Islands are still behind.

Sun [Mar.] 26. Prayer meeting at Mr Jones, house full as preaching had been notified. The preacher did not come.

Tues. [Mar.] 28th. A package of letters from the Islands arrived by way of Monterey whither they had been sent

by some heedless person at San Francisco a week ago. The papers are still at Monterey.

Thurs. [Mar.] 30 Rode to the Embarcadero to get the Theodolite, a fine looking instrument, but badly made.

Mon. [Apr.] 3^d Rode with Mr Ricord & Mr [William] Gulnac to Capt [Julian] Hank's ranch 14 miles towards Santa Cruz, to survey a piece of land embracing a coal mine. Reached the place at 1 PM. Took up our quarters at Mr Hoppers in a log house. After dinner went out to reconnoiter. In the bank of the stream beds of clay & shale with their seams of bituminous coal are visible, dipping nearly perpendicularly & running in a W N W direction. Half a mile N Westerly another bank exposes traces of coal & bituminous clay, which will not burn.

Tues [Apr.] 4. A little cloudy & warm. With my new Theodolite triangulated & laid out 208a 2R 9rods of land, embracing the hill in which the coal occurs.

Wed. 5. Ap'l Returned to town, reached home at noon.

Sun [Apr.] 9th Mr Anthony preached, 30 or 40 present.

Frid. [Apr.] 14th Rode to Mr Ricords Ranch with him & L[ansford] W Hastings Esq. Dined at Bellanys [George W. Bellomy] at Sta. Clara, poor dinner.

Sat. [Apr.] 15. The Gov^r writes me he cannot remit the duties on the Theodolite because it would be a bad precedent when he had remitted them in a dozen similar cases.

Wed. [Apr.] 19. Surveying Lot N^o 40 for Capt. Fisher.

Frid [Apr.] 21. Mapping the Berreyeza Ranch.

Sat. [Apr.] 22 Rode to Cooks ranch. Met Mr Walkinshaw & gave him the maps I had made of the mining lands & the Berreyeza ranch. Mr [William] Wiggins at Mr Cooks returned after dinner.

Wed. [Apr.] 26. Surv^d. Capt F[isher]'s garden lot.

Frid. [Apr.] 28th Surv^d Lot 49 for Mr West.

Sat. [Apr.] 29th Visited Capt F[isher]'s quicksilver mine with Mr Taylor.

Mon May 1st '48 Surveyed Mr [Charles] Whites Suerte lot.

Wed [May] 3^d Capt. F[isher] & myself went to select

Burial Grounds on the School Lot 3 miles East of Town by direction of the people at the public meeting yesterday.

Thurs [May] 4th Began the Town Survey.

Sun [May] 7th At 11 AM Mr Anthony preached, meeting not large. At 3 P.M. Mr Hickok preached, "The Love of money &c &c." A sort of temporary religious soc[iety] or class was formed on the Methodist basis; about a dozen joined.

Sun. 14th May. The last week engaged on the town survey. The weather warm, with cool nights, dews moderate. Mornings cloudy or foggy, the rest of the day clear. Prayer Meeting at Mr Jones, afterwards a class meeting after the Methodist fashion.

Tues. [May] 16th Rode to Capt. Hank's ranch 12 miles out to measure an excavation for coal made by Mr [Henri] Cambuston & others, the mine being claimed by Mr Ricord & others. Our company consisted of Mr Ricord, Mr [Charles] White the Alcalde, Capt Fisher, Mr Roland an old miner & 2 or 3 others. We found on the spot, Mr Walkinshaw, Mr Cambuston & others. The hole was found not to be such as to allow the Alcalde to give possession according to the Mexican laws. From this excavation we visited several others which Messrs Ricord & Co have opened where the indications of coal are very promising; in one place the bed appears to be about 3 feet thick. After dinner at Mr ——— we returned to the Pueblo reaching home about sun an hour high.

Wed. [May] 17th. Went with Messrs Ruckel, Garner, Capt Fisher & others to run a dividing line thro' the ranch of the Cañada de la Pala 10 or 12 mile from the Pueblo among the hills that separate the Pueblo & San Joaquin vallées; reached the place a little after noon. Took a lunch & went to work, with the Theodolite measured a base & took the angles. Capt F[isher] went elk hunting & brought home a piece of Elk which we roasted for supper & ate with great relish, & then rolled ourselves in our blankets & composed ourselves to rest around a huge fire with nothing but the canopy of the clouds over us. Towards morning the fog amounted to a mist.

Thurs. [May 18th] Roasted more Elk meat for breakfast, it is delicious; finished the measurement & reached the Pueblo before noon. PM on the town survey.

Mon [May] 22^d. Finished the field work of the town, except numbering the stakes.

Thurs [May] 25 Mapping. Lieut Warner with his party came in town. He is making a general survey of the country. Rode with him to visit Mr Ruckels silver mine & Capt Fisher's quicksilver mine.

Frid [May] 26 Finished the Map of the Town.

Sat. [May] 27. Surveyed Lot N^o 50 for Mr Taylor.

There is a great gold fever raging. Mr Jones & Dr Corey [Benjamin Cory] have returned from the gold region & are preparing to go there to dig. Nearly all the Americans & many of the Californians are preparing to go. Mr Foster my Chainman goes & I am left without hands & my business is at a standstill. Half San Francisco has already gone.

Mon [May] 29. Large companies starting for the Gold mines.

Got a draft on the Town Treasurer for \$37—the balance due me for the survey. Take also 4 Town Lots N^{os} 1, 4, 5, 8 in Block 3 range 2 South. Cost \$53.00 <(Sold next year for \$1200. in gold coin)>

Tues. [May] 30th Concluded to start next week with Capt Hanks, Willis & Fester for the Gold region taking an ox team.

My business here has come to a dead halt & no hands can be had at all.

Wed. [May] 31st Making preparations, buying sugar &c &c &c.

Frid. June 2^d Rode to Sta Clara to see Mr Forbes, respecting Mr Howards Ranch. He wants a survey of it immediately, but I can get no hands on acc't of the Gold fever, which increases daily. Waggons & pack animals are constantly passing thitherward.

Sat 3^d June. Turning wooden bowls & making other preparations.

Sun. [June] 4th Two Sermons. Mr Anthony AM. Mr



THE RUSH FOR THE GOLD REGIONS

Hickock PM. Eve. a Temp[erance] Meeting. The Town so depopulated by the Gold fever not many present except people from Sta Cruz on their way up. Mr Hickock & Mr Dunlevy [James G. T. Dunleavy] spoke, nothing great. Mr H[ickock] mouthed & murdered the Queens English horridly; the other was a decent speaker, but people could not help thinking all the while how shockingly he beat his wife a short time since, a thing which he is in the habit of doing. Meeting too long, left at 10³/₄; 15 signed the pledge.

Mon. [June] 5th. Preparing to get off tomorrow, in doubt whether to go by the straits where we may have to wait 2 or 3 weeks, or by the San Joaquin where we will have to ferry the river at flood on bullrushes, & cross interminable & bottomless mudholes (almost!)

Sent off \$324. by Mr Howards launch to Mr Grimes at San Francisco to pay for the Theodolite.

VI.

THE GOLD MINES; SAN JOSÉ AND SAN FRANCISCO;
SAN FRANCISCO TO NEW HAVEN

JUNE 6, 1848, TO JUNE 20, 1850

VI.

Tues 6 June [1848] Started at 8 from Pueblo, reached Mission of San Jose at 12, having passed Higueras ranch at 11, where one waggon of another company was upset in crossing a gulch. The Mission premises are very extensive but much in ruins. The orchards & vineyards are extensive & good, pears particularly, fine water. At 2½ stopped in the hills & lunched, passed through hills by a gentle ascent to a stream passing thro' Siunoll's [Suñol] ranch & encamped near the stream. Traveled today about 20 miles, road mostly good. Killed a bullock, supper coffee & roast beef, spread tent & slept well, rose at 4½, started at 6. Passed through a beautiful & fertile plain claimed by Dolores Pacheco many miles in extent & well wooded, 8 or 9 miles on our way stopped under a tree some time for the team to come up, passed [Robert] Livermores a mile further on. Leaving this place we crossed another plain 5 miles or so in width, but barren & dry, then entering the hills wound through a crooked ravine for several miles till we came to a small spring of water just beyond where the hills begin to slope towards the San Joaquin. Passing the high just before reaching this place we had a fine view of the plain of the San Joaquin.

Our encampment a wretched one, but little water & bad, no wood & no shelter, & grass not abundant, but we could do no better without traveling several miles on.

Thurs 8th June Started at 5½. Two or 3 miles on entered the plain of the San Joaquin. Passing up stream several miles over an almost barren & heated plain we came to the Tulares now overflowed with water, skirted these some miles, stopped to bathe, halted to dine & rest at a slough or deep channel setting out from the river. Drove on at 3 PM a few miles, spent some time in passing a slough & encamped ¾ of a mile beyond & about 1 from the river; found the plain so overflowed as to prevent reaching the river to day. Weather very hot & mosquitoes

innumerable. Slept but little, in fact very little sleep in all the camp. Rose at 4.

Frid [June] 9. Spent the day in trying to find a better place to cross the river than the usual one. Mr Wilks & Mr York crossed on a raft of Bulrushes; found no good passage, Tulae [tule] swamps beyond. Encamped at the same place.

Sat [June] 10th. Rose at 4½, prepared to decamp, doubled & trebled the teams, passed 2 or 3 sloughs, water 4 ft deep, several teams mired down; after much trouble reached the river at night having spent the day in making 1½ miles, bridged one of the sloughs with brush, 6 waggons & cart.

Encamped at river, beautiful place, cool, few mosquitoes. This is called the Piscadero [Pescadero] crossing place, the usual crossing place in dry weather.

Sun [June] 11th Fine day, river rising, felt it necessary to cross as soon as possible, prepared a boat by covering a waggon body with raw hides, fitted it with mast & sail & nearly all the waggons & baggage were over before night, only our party left. Don José Noriega from the Pueblo arrived & stopped with us.

Mon [June] 12 Rose early. Boating over the rest of the baggage & crossing the horses & cattle, which were towed two at a time by the boat. A ships yawl was also used by us a short time, it having been brought down the river by a company of rough fellows who were taking on a drove of 50 horses. On the other side of the river every thing had to be carried several hundred yards up a slough to a hillock or knoll where we are encamped [at] an old Indian rancheria.

Tues June 13th All the animals & luggage having been passed over the river & landed on the knoll last eve, we rose early, & prepared to go on. After passing several bad places of mud & water we came to a deep slough ¾ of a mile from our last camp which occupied us till the middle of the PM to pass, the waggons having to be unloaded, & the vehicles taken across in the leather boat, which was brought in on wheels. Traveling on upon dry

land 7 or 8 miles we encamped at the head of a slough setting back from the river & passed a comfortable night. The land we passed through was destitute of wood, some of it a good soil, but much sand & apparently unproductive. Here oaks commence. This place is called the French Camp from the circumstance that some Frenchmen had their camp or attempted a settlement here some time ago.

Wed. [June] 14. Started about 6, & traveled over the plain in a N. E. direction about 10 miles to the Calavaras river a stream of clear cool water a few yards in breadth & flowing into the San Joaquin. Dr [James C.] Isbells Ranch is on this river & his two houses a little distance above the crossing. After dining & resting here awhile we drove on 10 or 11 miles further to the Mokelemy or Mokelerny [Mokelumne] which we reached long before night. The river is about 150 ft wide & deep; it is fordable I believe at low water but the stream is now up though but little out of its banks. It has a bottom $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile or so in width which in some places was under water; the stream has been this season 6 or 8 feet higher than at present. On the flat near the stream & surrounded by water & mud are two log houses occupied by a Mr Piles whose wife, a strapping dirty looking creature informed us about the passage & at the same time brushed off the mosquitoes which were very numerous. At the rivers bank they swarm in myriads & are almost insupportable. We selected our camping place on the upland $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the R[iver] to avoid the mosquitoes as much as possible. The land over which we passed today is of ordinary quality & much of it very poor. We passed thro considerable oak timber with which also this stream as also the Calavaras are lined. We rose early & prepared to cross the R[iver]. The raw hide boat cover which we had brought from the San Joaquin was again fitted to a waggon body, & by the aid of a line stretched across the stream, the ferrying was all accomplished & the waggons reloaded by 12 o'clock. An oak canoe was also of some assistance. The day has been very hot & the mosquitoes at the R[iver] very annoying. After dining on the farther

bank we started on & traveled over a thinly wooded prairie with poor soil about 8^m to the dry creek, which afforded a beautiful camp ground under large oaks with fine water in the bed of the stream & plenty of grass & oats. The stream is not a flowing one at this season. Oats we have only seen in small spots occasionally over the plain of the San Joaquin & the grass is generally very coarse. Pitts, Murphy & others came up with us while we were crossing the Bohelemy. Murphy & co with Annador [José María Amador] & company with some others encamped with us at the Dry Creek. The afternoon was very hot partly probably from extensive fires which are running over the plain occasioned most likely by the carelessness of parties who have preceded us.

Frid [June] 16th Rose at 2½ had breakfast at 3¼ & started at 4 on our way, our course northerly. From Dry creek the plain is almost entirely destitute of wood & the grass has just been entirely burnt off leaving a black dreary surface. After riding nearly 20 miles we came to the River Cosumnes, a fine mountain stream a few yards in width, & a foot or two in depth. Half a mile before reaching it we entered fine groves of oaks. We halted on the river under some oaks about 9 & waited for the waggon which came up about 11½. Here we took dinner & rested till 2½ PM.

At 2½ started on, following the stream to the mill about a mile from our halting place. Mill small, one run of stone, fall of the river small, much water; on the West side a beautiful fertile plain spreads out furnishing the most eligible farm I have yet seen. This plain must be ½ a mile wide & several in length.

Here the eye ranges over a tract of country more strongly resembling old Conn. than any other I have seen; low rolling hills, well wooded, & fertile vallies extend as far as the eye can reach, & in the back ground 60 or 80 miles to the East rise the snowy mountains covered with their white mantle.

Leaving the stream to the right we rode on 4 miles be-

yond the Mill & encamped by some standing water with oaks near by.

Sat [June] 17 Drove on about 11 miles & halted by some water in a valley till the teams came up at 11. Capt H[anks] & myself meanwhile rode on to reconnoiter, & after returning & dining &c, we started again & went to the lower Diggings at the Mormon Camp about 4 miles distant. Weather excessively hot. Had the misfortune to lose the Ther at the Diggings. The Island on which is the Mor[mon] Camp crowded. Get \$16 to 25 a day, people washing all along the river, ferry 1 mile up. Saw many acquaintances. Returned in the PM. Teams came on $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile & encamped by the main road from Sutters up the river at about a mile or more distant from it.

Night very hot slept ill. Rose at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ for 2 mornings past, & get ready to move at 4. Moved up towards the upper digging about 10 miles & stopped under some shades till near night & then went on a few miles further on & encamped. Day very hot.

Mon. [June] 19th Rose early. Started on. Cattle much heated. Capt H[anks] & I rode on to explore, reached Sutters sawmill, had camp past the turning off place to go to the digging below the mill which we had decided on trying; returned, & late PM came on with the team as far as the river, turning off about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles below the mill & winding to the left down the stream. Too late to cross over. Encamped on the sand.

Tues [June] 20th AM Capt H[anks] & I crossed & went *prospecting* two miles down the river, decided on a place & went back, passed the waggons & baggage & PM moved down a mile below the ferry.

Wed [June] 21st Finished making a machine for washing & commenced operations. Little gold yielded.

Thurs. [June] 22. Dug & washed several hours, poor yield, only a few dollars worth of gold. Started off Prospecting. Capt H[anks] found a better place a few rods above, at a rocky point projecting into the river. Moved the machine thither. Washed out 16 or 20 dollars worth in about an hour.

Frid [June] 23^d. Rose early. Worked the machine 5 hours AM & 4 PM obtaining about 11 oz of gold or 32 dollars apiece for the company of 5 individuals.

Sat. 24th June. Washed out 12½ oz in about 11 hours, making \$40 apiece reckoning \$16 to the oz.

Sun. [June] 25. Fine day—& day of rest. Sat in shade, did some reading & writing.

Sat July 1st 1848 Have kept our machine going at the same place working about 9 hours a day—i.e. from 5 to 11 AM & from 4 to 7 PM, blowing out the black sand during the noon intermission. The days works were as follows

Mon all day 20 oz 14 dol

Tues “ “ 14 “ 2 “

Wed AM 6 “ 2 “

Wed noon to Thurs noon 10 “ 4 “

Frid noon 11 “ 1 “

Sat noon 25 “ 8 “

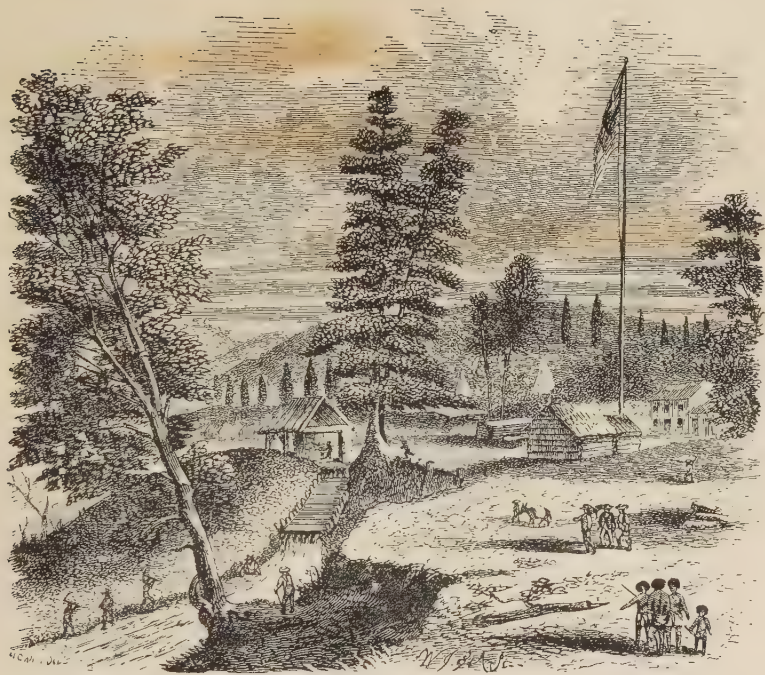
[At this period in California the ounce was regarded as a monetary unit, to which the dollar was subsidiary.]

The last was obtained from near the same place as that of Mon, only nearer the river, the water having fallen 1 or 2 feet during the week. Our aggregate gains up to this time (8 days) are about \$1800 or \$360 apiece. The weather the last 2 or 3 days has been warmer & the water of the river grows warm as the snows become more melted.

Sun 2^d July Mr D[ouglass] & myself went to Jones Camp 1½ miles above to engage in religious exercises. Most of the party belonging to his camp were absent & it was concluded to appoint a religious meeting there for the next Sabbath.

On returning to our camp about noon I found Mr Wilks Bro-in-Law Francisco had returned from above where he had been doing extremely well, & that Mr Wilks & Capt Hanks had resolved to leave our diggings & go there immediately. Of course I must go or be left in the lurch, so I concluded to go.

Mon [July] 3^d Up early, decamped at 8 AM. Crossed the river by the assistance of a scow, or small boat, & pro-



SUTTER'S MILL



ceeded 3 miles on the road up very steep & sandy hills, it being the same road by which we had come down. Mr D[ouglass] went to the store at the Mill & bought each of us a shovel for \$10. apiece. There are three teams in company, Wilks', Capt Hanks' & Mr York's.

Tues July 4th Started early on our way. Weather very hot; 2 miles on entered the road from Sutters to the Mill, passed down it towards Sutters a mile or two & took the trail for Webbers [Charles M. Weber] Camp on a creek that runs into the Am[erican] Fork from the S.E. Reached the creek & crossed about 10 AM. The stream is only a small rivulet. Webber had just moved his camp 8 miles up the stream to the place whither we were bound. The diggings in this vicinity seem to be pretty much run out, & the people were moving away. Nooned at the creek. Started about 2 PM; ascended a very steep sandy hill which occupied 2 hours & proceeded to within a mile or two of the diggings, but night having come on we turned down the main road to Sutters 2 miles to find water & grass for an encampment. Reports of the diggings discouraging; have been extremely good but are now failing, & people are crowding in by hundreds.

Wed July 5. Spent the forenoon in hunting for Wilks oxen, which had strayed off; found by indians to whom W[ilks] paid \$30 in gold. PM rode in to the diggings 5 miles, poor encouragement. The company in doubt whether to go on or go back. Decide to go on. Weather hot, traveled today 13 miles.

Thurs July 6. Spent several hours in hunting the cattle again, got off at 11 AM & reached the valley at noon. Selected a camp. Tried several places for gold; found some but not enough to pay for digging. Found gold in gulches on the hills where we last encamped.

Frid [July] 7 Divided the provisions. Mr D[ouglass] & I joined Mr [Bascom] Cases Camp, & spent part of the day in prospecting. Not much success; the principle Gulches in this region have been dug out, from one about \$30,000 were taken in 10 or 12 days—17,000 of it in 2 days. Other gulches turned out very well. The Gold here

is found most abundantly in the side ravines or gulches; the excavations are generally from 1 to 3 feet deep & about the same width following the bottom of the gulch & the gold is found chiefly in the crevices of the slate rock which lies just under the surface of the ground, the lamina or strata standing nearly perpendicularly. Mr D[ouglass] & Mr Case started out prospecting.

About noon Gov Mason arrived with his party consisting of Capt [Joseph L.] Folsom, Lieut [William T.] Sherman, Mr Borde the Purser of the *Warren* & Mr Suerkrop, Danish Consul at the S. I. Spent an hour or two with them at Webbers Camp. They returned towards night down the Creek. The Gov is collecting specimens & preparing a representation for Washington in order to get a branch Mint established at San Francisco.

[Colonel Richard B. Mason's Report, dated Monterey, California, August 17, 1848, was published in 30th Congress, 2d Session, Executive Document, No. 1, Message from the President, December 5, 1848 (Washington, 1848), pp. 56-64. He says (p. 59): "Mr. Neligh, an agent of Commodore Stockton, had been at work about three weeks in the neighborhood, and showed me, in bags and bottles, over \$2,000 worth of gold; and Mr. Lyman, a gentleman of education and worthy of every credit, said he had been engaged, with four others, with a machine on the American fork, just below Sutter's mill; that they worked eight days, and that his share was at the rate of fifty dollars a day, but hearing that others were doing better at Weber's place, they had removed there, and were then on the point of resuming operations."']

Sat [July] 8. Dr Corey & Mr Beebee & myself went prospecting to a Ravine 4 miles North, where an Irishman named [Michael] Murray obtained about \$3000 in 3 or 4 days. Passing two ravines & two high ridges from which the snowy mts were visible we reached the valley & found the crowd had preceded us; the ravine was full of diggers, & the finding of gold had become quite uncertain. We tried several places, but did not get much. John Murphy trading with the Indians was taking in gold

very fast selling glass beads for their weight in gold, Serapas [serape] at \$60 &c &c. Returning examined a ravine & picked about \$2 of gold from the rocks in a short time; reach Camp sun 2 hours high.

Mon [July] 10th Mr Case returned about noon, reported good digging about 4 miles to the north on dry creek. Mr Douglass had remained there. We immediately packed up & moved our camp thither, picking our route over the high hills & encamping in dry creek before sunset, near a gulch which had been opened two days before & from which many thousand dollars had been taken. Weather moderate & pleasant.

Tues 11th July Commenced digging in the gulch, Mr Douglass & I taking a spot about a rod in length & digging towards each other. In the course of the day we picked out about 7 oz each, besides collecting dirt to wash. The gulch full of people.

Wed [July] 12th. A.M. Finished our place in the gulch & commenced packing dirt to our camp to wash, our camp being half a mile off in another ravine leading to the Am[erican] river.

Pack saddle broke and the PM was spent in repairing it, it being a borrowed one.

Thurs [July] 13th AM Finished the pack saddle & washed considerable dirt. The mending of the saddle cost about \$100—ie, I should probably have collected that amount of gold while mending it.

Friday [July] 14th Mr D[ouglass] & myself washing the dirt collected, which yields about 2 or 3 dollars of gold to the shovel full.

Sat [July] 15th. Mr Douglass went over to a gulch running into dry creek & obtained a pound of gold, nearly in the course of the day. I dug in the AM near camp & in the PM in the gulch with Mr Douglass; obtained but little, precarious business. Mr Douglass & myself have obtained since Tues morning 60 oz of gold, which with 3½ which Mr D[ouglass] collected on Monday gives us in all for the weeks work 63½ oz or \$1016. or \$508 dollars apiece.

Mon. 17th July It being reported that rich diggings had

been discovered about 20 miles up the river Mr D[ouglass] & myself packed up provisions for a week & started about noon to ascertain the truth of the matter, somewhat suspecting at the same time that it might prove a wild goose chase, yet glad to avail ourselves of the opportunity to examine the country farther mountainward. Proceeding to Webbers camp 4 miles distant we took to Mormon trail leading to the Salt lake & proceeded as far as the Mormon Camp 10 or 12 miles up the Creek. We found a few Mormons remaining at the Camp but could obtain no information from them respecting the new diggings. We encamped a little below their camp.

Tues July 18. Soon after starting fell in with Mr Reed with a party of 7 others (Conner, 3 Pyle's &c) on the same errand as ourselves; concluded to proceed together. Struck in from the Mormon trail a couple of miles or more northerly & took an indian trail leading up the dividing ridge between the River & Webbers creek. Following this 5 or 6 miles we met several people coming back, after searching for the diggings in vain. Mr D[ouglass] & myself resolved to turn back, the rest kept on. We had returned but a mile or so when we met Dan Murphy & others who were on the same pursuit & had what appeared to be more reliable information. So we turned back resolved to go far enough to satisfy ourselves. Rejoining Reeds party we went on 5 or 6 miles & again entered on the Mormon trail. Proceeding 6 or 8 miles on this we encamped by a clear cold mountain rivulet in a ravine on the right having traveled about 20 miles up from the Mormon Camp.

Wed July 19th Slept soundly, again started on continually rising. Traveled till noon bearing towards the S.E. Satisfied that gold was not to be found in this region & that it would be extremely difficult to penetrate to the main River on account of the tremendous ravines or Canyons which intersect the mountains, we halted on the top of a hill, with the snowy mountains in full view not more than 8 or 10 miles distant, the whiteness of the snowy mantle causing them to appear much nearer. The

atmosphere was cool & refreshing at noonday & the weather beautiful. The mountain scenery around was grand, & we felt pretty well paid for our journey, tho' no gold had been found. After leaving the Mormon Camp, Quartz almost entirely ceased & the geology of the country changed; from the Slate rock of the upper gold diggings we passed over varieties of gneiss & the last part of our ride the principle rock was Granite. All the way we passed thro' most beautiful forests of fine Fir, Redwood, Cedar & Oak. The pines, firs, & redwood were many of them of extraordinary size & height, being often 50 or 80 feet to the branches & from 150 to 200 or more feet high, many of them being from 6 to 8 or 9 feet in diameter. We now resolved to return to our last nights camp, about 12 miles, which we did, reaching it a little before night.

Thurs. July 20. Started early; it was resolved that half our party should penetrate to the river on foot & explore for gold, while the rest proceeded along the ridge with the horses. Following the road 3 or 4 miles the foot party turned off & the rest of us kept on about 4 miles & halted for the foot men to come up, at the same time 3 of our party descending to the River to intercept them. About 5 PM the foot party made their appearance thoroughly tired having found tremendous Canyons but no gold. The stream was a considerable one & must be a main branch of the river. We found a good camping place a short distance from where we halted.

Frid July 21 Satisfied that further search for the reported diggings was useless we resolved to proceed directly back to camp, Mr Reeds party departing before us & Mr D[ouglass] & myself taking the trail leading down the dividing ridge towards Webbers Creek leaving the Mormon trail on our left. A few miles on we turned in towards the river to explore, passing some deep & difficult ravines, till meeting a fire sweeping thro' the forest we turned back into the trail to avoid it & proceeded directly back to Camp, reaching it about sunset having stopped to take tea a mile back at Mr Neligh's Camp. Mr Belden spent the night with us, & left in the morning for the

Pueblo. We found that many who had left on the same search as ourselves had returned equally unsuccessful. We had had the pleasure of the trip but were *minus* the amount of gold we *might* have dug had we remained behind, many of our friends having made from 300 to 1000 dollars during our absence.

Sat [July] 22^d. Went to work in the creek or ravine in which we are encamped, not successful, both of us obtaining but about 3 oz.

Mon [July] 24. Water at our camping place having got very bad we moved to a fine spring 3 miles from the diggings down Dry Creek where we have good pasturage for cattle & horses, a fine shade all day & a good place for washing with a machine. Dug but little gold.

Tues. 25 July Dug in the Gulch or Ravine in which Mr Neligh & Dr Corey are encamped. Moderate success.

Wed. [July] 26. Dug in the same place. Mr D[ouglass] being unwell remained in camp.

We have obtained the last 3 days nearly 6 ounces or but 1^{oz} a day apiece. The poorest work we have done.

Thurs [July] 27. Mr D[ouglass] & myself digging dirt from the next ravine west to cart & wash with a machine at our camp having made an arrangement with Mr Case for that purpose.

Frid [July] 28 Digging in same place. Mr Case has drawn to camp 5 small loads of earth. Not much gold to be picked out, or visible in digging.

Sat [July] 29th. Washed out the earth brought down the last two days; it yielded 17 ^{oz} or 8½ ^{oz} for Mr Case & the same for Mr D[ouglass] & myself. Mr Case's boy staid to keep camp yesterday & day before. This gives each of us \$23 per day for the last 3 days.

Sun 30th July Spent the day in Camp. Mr. Matthews & son & Rev Mr Anthony came & spent the Sabbath with us, had religious exercises, agreeable & profitable.

Mon & Tues [July 31st & Aug. 1st] Digging earth to cart from the same ravine we worked in last week, 3 loads each day.

Wed & Thurs [Aug. 2^d & 3^d] Digging in lower part of

the old ravine in which we did our best weeks work a fortnight ago (nearly opposite the last), picked out several large pieces, 3 or 4 oz in all, & carted 4 loads of earth.

Frid & Sat. [Aug. 4th & 5th] Washing out the 11 loads of earth (1 was obtained on Frid.) & obtained 46^{oz} & 2/3^d, giving for my share (one fourth) 11^{oz} 11^{dols} or \$187. for the weeks work = to \$31 per day.

Mon [Aug.] 7th Digging in same place as last week, 3 loads of earth, picked 1^{oz} or 1½.

Tues [Aug.] 8th. Horses not to be found this morning; instead of going to our digging place, washed yesterdays earth, finished at noon, result 12^{oz} 5^{dol} in all, my portion 3^{oz} 1^{dol} = \$50—

Sat [Aug.] 12th Mr D[ouglass] myself & Bascom Case washing the dirt with the machine. Mr Case carting 2 loads. Did not finish the washing. The earth we have washed the last 2 weeks yields about 4^{oz} the load, which is small.

Mr Douglass went to the Mill 10 miles off for groceries.

Prices here are high, at present at follows

Sugar	\$ 1.00	Saleratus	1.50
Rice	.33	Thin Cot. Pants	10.00
Coffee	1.00	Milk pans	5. to 10.00
Manteca [Lard]	1.00	Wooden bowls	5. to 10.00
Figs & Raisins	1.00	Picks	10. to 30.00
Shoes	\$10. to 16.	Beef fresh	
Flour	25. to 35		12 to 25<50>cts
Beans	15 to 25	“ “	\$8 to 12 per qr
Molasses	\$3. to 6. gal	Carting from fort	
Shovels	10.00		\$10.00 per cwt.
Butter	1.50 lb	Shirts	10.00 [to] 25.00 each
Spades	\$10.00	Dried pears	25. to 75.—
Crowbars	10. to 40	Potatoes per lb	1.00

Almost every other camp is a store, goods are abundant, but business dull. Everybody cannot get rich trading.

Made 7^{oz} & 11^{dols} this week = \$20 per day. Earth not so good as expected.

Sun 13th Aug 1848 Messrs Anthony, Cospar & Miller spent Sab[bath] with us. Had religious exercises. Spent the day pleasantly & profitably.

Mon Aug 14, 1848 Washed out a load or two of earth left last week. Yielded but poorly. Mr Douglass digging, ditto myself PM.

Tues. [Aug.] 15. Digging at same place. Carted 2 Loads.

Wed. [Aug.] 16th. Digging in same place. Carted one load. Cattle lost found early.

Thurs [Aug.] 17th. Washed out our earth. Small yield.

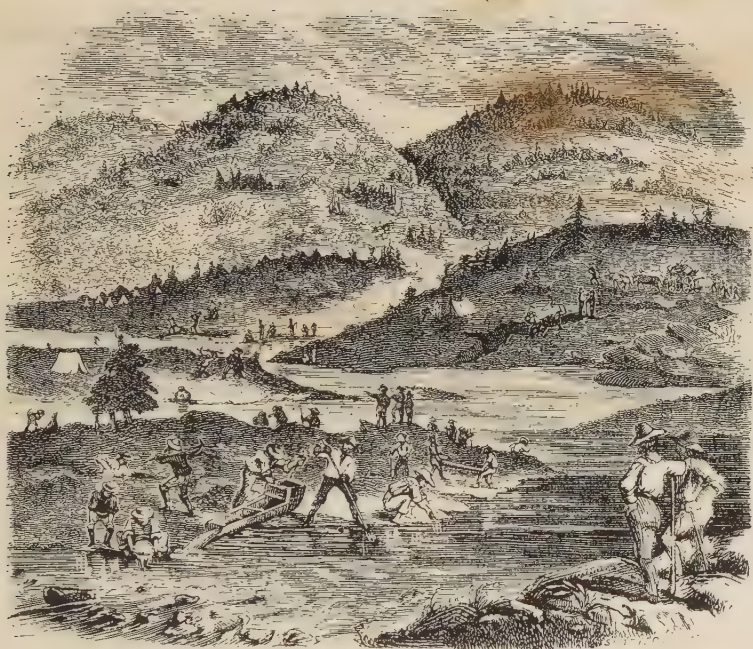
Frid 18th Aug Digging in same ravine a few rods below, hope for better success, 3 loads.

Sat [Aug.] 19. Washed out. Earth was not so good as the former. With the interruptions & poor diggings this week have made but 4^{oz} 5 dols = \$11½ per day.

Mr Case has concluded to leave for home next week. Think some what of going with him. The profits of digging are but moderate comparatively. Many people are sick of fevers & fever & ague. The weather is hot at mid-day, grass for horses scarce. My horse I now have safe, tho' others are losing them every day. On these & other accounts, especially as I am now in good health, & furthermore may get business below in the way of surveying I think it about as well to go home to the Pueblo with Mr Case.

Since I came to the mines 2 months ago I have collected about 86^{oz} of gold or not far from \$1380. at \$16 the oz. This is better than I could have done surveying. My health has been uniformly good, improving, if anything. Appetite good, eat heartily sleep soundly. Live chiefly on a farinaceous diet, flour in griddle cakes, short cakes, & atolae [atole] or thick gruel, rice boiled, together with dried pears stewed, jerked beef now & then & occasionally fresh beef varied with stews of hares & quails, both the latter excellent eating. Besides these wild game in these mountains is very scarce. A few stray deer are seen occasionally but I have heard of none being shot.

Our camp for the last 3 weeks has been a very quiet &



MINING SCENE

pleasant one, with a good spring of water. The great objection to it is the distance to the diggings = 3 or 4 miles.

Sun Aug 20. Messrs Anthony, Cospar, Miller & Chance spent the Sab[bath] at our Camp to engage with us in devotional exercises.

Mon [Aug.] 21. Mr Case concludes to remain till Thurs so as to have the company of Anthony & Cospar. Mr D[ouglass] & myself tried digging in the Log Cabin ravine a little below our former Camp where within the last week or two a great amount of gold has been taken from the southern bank of the stream, a flat being there formed between the foot of the hill & the bed of the stream from 10 to 20 yards in width. This has already been dug back nearly half way to the hill & continues rich. Mr Cospar gets from 2 to 10 ounces per day, others as much or more. One man averaged over \$100 for 8 days. I dug near Cospar & obtained about $3\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Mr D[ouglass] being unwell did not work much.

Tues [Aug.] 22. Dug in same place & obtained about the same as yesterday. The am[oun]t for the two days for Mr D[ouglass] & myself is $7^{\text{oz}} 4\frac{1}{2}^{\text{dols}}$ or $3^{\text{oz}} 10\frac{1}{4}^{\text{d}}$ for each of us.

Wed. [Aug. 23^d] Spent the day in camp preparing to depart this P.M. Mr D[ouglass] moves his camp to the place where we have dug the last two days. He sends down by me to San Francisco nearly \$1400 of Gold. The amt of all the gold I have dug the last two months or since I arrived in the mines is not far from \$1440 at \$16 the ounce, which with \$160 in gold collected of Mr Neligh for surveying Com Stockton's Ranch makes \$1600 which I take down with me, or just 100 ounces, or $8\frac{1}{3}$ pounds Troy.

Our cattle having gone astray we did not get off as early as we intended. We started an hour before sunset & reached the diggings at Webbers Creek about 5 miles distant soon after eight. Here we encamped for the night, with no grass for our animals.

Several camps are still here & among them Mr York's with a large assortment of goods. Webber has moved his camp to the new diggings further south.

Thurs 24 Aug Rose at 3½ & started on with out breakfast. Morning very cold. Chilly with two overcoats on. Sleep interrupted last night by a horse treading around my bed, the former being tied to the tongue of the waggon & the latter being spread on the ground beside it.

Reached a watering place five miles out at which we encamped 2 nights on our way up about 6½ AM. Here too took breakfast, & then drove on to the forks of the road 8 miles further where we stopped an hour & a half or till a quarter before one to rest & feed our animals, & take dinner. Here was the first good grazing we had found. Our route thus far has been about W S W.

Started at a quarter before one & drove on 12 or 13 miles, to a place where we halted for the night; there being grass but no water, we reached this place at dusk. Our supper we took about 3 miles back at a fine rill of water.

Frid Aug 25 Rose at 3¾ & started on, the morning being beautiful & not so chilly as we had been accustomed to in the Mts. At about 9 AM reached Daily's [William Daly] on the Cosumnes, where we halted for breakfast & rest, having driven about 12 miles, which would make the distance by our estimate, from Webbers Diggings to Dailys About 38 miles.

At Daily's we were joined by Messrs Anthony & Cospar who had gone by way of Sutters Mill.

Here we obtained a gallon of milk at a real (12½ cts) a pint which was a rich treat so long had we been destitute of it.

At 11 AM started on. Messrs A[nthony] & C[ospar] & the Portuguese Sailor on horse back. Mr Case & his son in the waggon. 3 miles down the river we stopped to bathe. We are now out of the hills & the country presents the appearance of a rolling prairie, or plain rising into gentle declivities. A strong breeze has been blowing from the N which makes the weather cool & I have worn a thick coat most of the P.M.

The road all the distance thus far is good & well traveled.

Near Daily's met Mr Montgomery returning from an

exploration of the various new diggings. He had been as far as the Stanislaus & reports gold in greater or less abundance on that & all the intermediate streams from 30 to 50 miles in from their mouths or midway in the Mts as on the Am[erican] Fork. But as yet the gold tho beautiful does not seem to be so abundant as at the dry digging. It is more water worn & consequently smoother & more rounded. He showed some specimens which he had obtained; himself & his companion dug 6^{oz} in 2 or 3 hours. This was in a ravine 4 or 5 miles from the river Stanislaus. There are not many digging yet besides Indians.

Reached Dry Creek 16 miles from Daily's at about sunset, encamped for the night.

Sat [Aug.] 26 Cattle missing. Sun an hour high before we started. 8 or 9 miles on reached the Mukelemnne [Mokelumne] which is now fordable. Several companies are encamped here temporarily, among them Mr Neligh & Dr Cory. Dr C[ory] is sick of fever, but getting better. Remained here till after Dinner which we took at Mr Hopper's table. 8 miles further on we reached the Calavaras, which is now dry except standing pools; crossed below Dr Isbels. Stopped awhile to bait our horses.

Reached French Camp 11 miles on at the head of a Slough setting up from the river at 9 PM & encamped for the night; 2 or 3 other parties encamped here on their way to the Stanislaus.

Sun [Aug.] 27th No grass for animals. Mr Anthony unwell, & considering all things we found it necessary to move on, so as not to remain in the pestilential vicinity of the San Joaquin longer than we might be obliged to do.

Ten miles bro't us to the River & in an hour we were over, a boat being ready for the use of travelers. After a little refreshment on the bank of the R[iver] we drove on 7 miles to a slough where we encamped. The River we found low but not fordable. This crossing was very different from what we had experienced 2 months & a half ago when we went up. There is now no water in the sloughs. Saw the grave of Mr [William] Whiteman who was drowned in one of the sloughs 2 months ago.

The Wests were camped at the same place with us. Mosquitoes very numerous, no sleep. Took my bed & carried it some distance from the timber into the plain, but all of no use. Could not get a wink of sleep. Stood it till 1 AM then got up & went to cooking. Ate breakfast at 3½. Started out at 5. 10 miles bro't us to the base of the hills. 8 more to a large rock near the "Divide" under the shadow of which we slept some 3 hours to make up for last night. Stopped 2 miles before reaching Livermores to bait, & get dinner, passed Livermores at dusk & reached a fine grassy camping place at 10 PM, having travelled about 35 miles—viz 10 to the hills, 12 thro hills, 5 over plain to dining place & 8 to camp.

Tues. 28 Aug Started at 5 went on 3 miles & breakfasted. 8 more brought us to the Mission of San Jose where we filled ourselves with some most delicious pears. No melons were ripe; we got some green corn 3 miles on & took along to roast.

Left the Mission at 12½. Stopped at the Sta Clara bridge to roast our corn & take a lunch, & Mr Anthony & the sailor took the road to San Francisco & Mr Cospar & myself that to the Pueblo which we reached at dusk.

Thurs [Aug.] 31st Making a pair of Scales for weighing gold.

Frid 8th Sept. Have done little this week but miscellanies, somewhat unwell with the cold. Weigh by Mr Beldens scales 146 pounds which is 8 or 10 more than I weighed last Spring or at any time since I left home.

Capt Fisher returned last eve from his trip to the upper part of the San Joaquin Valley. Others of the party returned last week. They found no gold; indeed did not make a fair search for it.

Capt F[isher] has the Fever & ague: Capt Hanks, Mr Cook, & all the rest of the party are more or less ill of Fever or fever & ague. Capt Hanks on Monday accidentally was shot thro the thigh by a charge from an old musket barrel which he was heating in a forge. The wound is doing well.

Rode out to Mr Cooks to get Quinine of Mr Wiggins

for Capt F[isher] Went on to New Almaden & passed the night with Mr Walkinshaw.

Sun [Sept.] 10th Meeting at Mr Youngs at 12. Read Dr [Horace] Bushnells sermon on Barbarism the great danger [published, New York, 1847]. An original & valuable discourse. Prayer Meeting at 4½ PM at same place.

Sat 16 Sept. The past week have been reading, writing, & tinkering making scales, bed to cheat fleas, tending the sick etc, being half sick with a cold myself. Weather moderate.

Wed [Sept.] 20th PM started alone for San Fran^{co}. Rode to Allens 12^m & put up for the night.

Thurs [Sept.] 21st Started at 8 AM rode slowly & reached San F[rancisco] at sunset. Put up at Mr Grimes'. Found Mr & Mrs Stephens & Capt Hayes from the Islands there. Saw also many others from the Isl^d.

Frid & Sat. [Sept. 22^d & 23^d] About town. Much business doing.

Sun 24th Sept. Epise[opal] Service read at the School house by Capt [William C.] Stout agent for the Steamers; 15 or 20 present. On returning to Mrs G[rime]s found a note requesting me to marry a couple in the eve. Was persuaded to do so. So at eve I tied the knot for Mr [George] Eggleston & Miss Phebe Moses, at Mr Lincoln's, a Mormon family, the lady's father [Ambrose T. Moses] being also Mormon. The ceremony was in the usual Yankee style 2 couples supporting the bride & groom. The house was full 60 or 80 being present, the principle people of the place. This is the first wedding solemnized by a protestant clergyman, since California became a U. S. Ter[ritory]. I left soon after the ceremony. The company generally broke up I am told about 11.

Mon. [Sept.] 25th Rec'd this morning by Lieut [Edward] Gilbert from Mr Eggleston 2 gold eagles & a half as wedding fee. Mr E[ggleston] is a butcher & keeps the Washington Market.

Tues & Wed [Sept 26 and 27] Greatly rejoiced to meet my old schoolmate at Ellington, Bethuel Phelps. Spent

several hours most agreeably in talking up old times. He is purchasing much property in Cal^a \$65,000 worth of Capt [Stephen] Smith of Bodega, &c &c.

Thurs. [Sept. 28th]. 11 AM Started for home. Stopped to reconnoitre Mr Howards ranch at the old Mission & put up for the night at Chino Sanches', a boorish miserable place; got a few corn stalks for my mule & had supper of fried beef, boiled corn & some beans at 9 PM & went to bed on the earth floor not to sleep but to be eaten by the fleas.

Frid [Sept.] 29th Rose at sunrise. The woman of the house up, but no stir about breakfast, waited half an hour & asked for some cold meat, no satisfactory answer; finally saw a cob of corn left on the table last eve, ate that paid a dollar for my entertainment & started at 7 AM for the Pueblo, got a watermelon at San Francisquito & had nothing else to eat till supper time at Capt Fishers.

Twenty-five vessels at San Fran^{co} many of them unable to get away from desertion of crews. On board one ship the Capt's wages are \$50 per month, the Cooks \$75!

Met Capt Spring of the *Huntress*, brother of Rev Dr S[pring] of New York.

Mon Oct 2^d, 1848 Mr Phelps came, spent the eve with him. Have concluded to go to the Stanislaus with F. Wilkes & take goods from Mr Belden to all.

Tues. [Oct.] 3^d Mr P[helps] left at noon. Mr Ricord left last eve without giving me security on his debt as he promised, except verbally putting his Library into my hands, which I have authorized Mr Phelps to sell.

Wed [Oct.] 4th Packing & getting ready to be off.

We take with us 10 cwt of Flour, 200 cwt onions, & an invoice of Goods amounting to \$2147.50 at Pueblo prices.

Thurs. [Oct.] 5. Dug some onions before breakfast to take with us to eat. Started about 11 AM. Passed the Mission at dark & encamped a mile or two beyond among the hills. Slept under the waggon.

Frid. [Oct.] 6. Started at 8; a little way on the waggon got stuck in crossing a gulch & hindered till 10. Went on about 4 miles & stopped to dine. Cattle very slow. Started

at 3½ went 3 miles & camped, this being the best grass with water this side of the San Joaquin.

Sat [Oct.] 7th Rose before the sun; night cold, frost. Some tea left in the kettle was frozen solid. Started at 8½ AM reached Livermores 8^m at 11½. Got some grapes, 2 clusters for a Real [12½ cents]. Stopped to water & dine at the Sausal 1½ miles beyond.

Started at 3½ & reached the watering place in the hills at 8 PM 10 miles, no grass, water as plenty as last June, no dew.

Sun [Oct. 8th] Started at 7, cool & pleasant. Reached watering place at slough 15 miles at 2 PM. Thousands of antelopes, elks, & horses on the plain. Encamped at slough 5 miles further on & two from Pescadero [Pescadero] crossing of the San Joaquin. Not troubled with mosquitos.

Mon [Oct.] 9th Crossed the river & encamped a mile & a half beyond, this being the last water for 15 miles.

A company of men have started a ferry at the crossing, have now two common boats, designing to put on a flat bottomed ferry boat as soon as practicable. Fare \$1. for man, \$8. for waggon & load.

Tues. [Oct.] 10th Took a direct course across the plain for the Stanislaus 15 miles or more, sandy & hard wheeling. Cattle heated, stopped several hours on plain to rest, reached the river at 8 PM. Grass plenty.

Wed [Oct.] 11th Passed up the river over a sandy bad road 9 or 10 miles to the ford which we reached sun 2 hours high; could not ford with the waggon without wetting goods; carried things over by hand & up the steep bank, camped on the other side, good grass, some horses of our company lost.

Thurs 12th Oct. Started at 7. Road mainly up the river for several miles then diverging to the right, it became hilly & bad. A few miles further on came to an ox waggon belonging to Savage & Co. which had remained 4 days in the same place the oxen having been lost. Not coming up with our traveling companions, we encamped here for the

night there being now of our company with the waggon only Wilkes & a Californian with myself.

Friday 13th Oct Started in good season, still the rock is sandstone, had bad hills to ascend, traveled slowly, stopped in the eve where there was some grass but no water.

Sat. [Oct.] 14. Went on 4 or 5 miles & breakfasted at a spring where there was considerable grass; I went 5 miles to explore & returned, remained till PM & then went on to a plain where we found considerable grass & good water. This is a romantic & secluded place 2 miles or so in width & nearly surrounded by walls of trap or basalt presenting the appearance of a huge volcanic crater, which the ignorant seem to regard it. The road enters it as well as makes its exit thro' a deep notch, in the bottom of which the rock appears to be a sort of slate. Several miles before entering this place the rock is slate, similar to that at the Dry Diggings on the Am[erican] fork, dipping nearly perpendicularly & trending N W or N N W.

Sun [Oct.] 15. Our travelling companions, some Italians with a country cart, being essential in assisting us up some difficult hills we were obliged to go on a few miles to day, extremely against my inclination; we went on 4 or 5 miles, passed the first camps & a mile further on crossed over a high ridge of basalt, just beyond which we encamped, no grass but plenty of water.

Mon [Oct.] 16. Rose early, had several difficult miles to ascend. Four or 5 miles on reached an Indian Rancheria, where Dan Murphy has a camp selling goods for Webber. Early in the forenoon we broke the tongue of our waggon in crossing a ravine & spent 3 hours in repairing damages. Waited at the Rancheria an hour. Sold 71 lbs of flour for \$1.50 a pound, some sugar at \$3.00 & Tea at \$4.00, also some flour & sugar to the Indians. 2 miles on had a bad hill to ascend at which the Cattle "balked" obliging us to push up most of our load on my mule. Reached Gulnacs camp at dusk.

The day cloudy & threatening rain. Spread my blanket on the ground & turned in. About midnight awoke & found

it raining but only slightly. Hoping it would stop hauld my blanket over my head & went to sleep; at 4 woke again, raining quite fast, rose, put up my bed & went into Gullnacs tent. It rained but little & only a few sprinklings after daylight.

Tues. [Oct.] 17 Day cloudy & damp, put up tent, many people buying goods flour onions etc. Did not sell very much however. Many camps in this valley, little gold dug at present. Most people trading, market overstocked.

Wed 18. Oct. Sold most of our flour at \$14 per 25 lbs; onions & dry goods almost no sale.

Thurs & Frid. [Oct. 19th & 20th] Very little trade, people leaving, diggings poor, few getting more than 1 or 2 oz per day.

Examined the rich ravine where a piece said to weigh 15 or 20 lbs of pure gold was taken out. The rock on which the gold lies appears to be a species of gneiss, very hard & resembling basalt. The strata running about N N W & dipping 75° or 80° easterly. In passing down the creek to the lower camps 5 or 6 miles various successive strata of slates present themselves with about the same direction & inclination. The gold is found here as elsewhere only in the drift or diluvium. In this region most of the gold is taken from dry ravines setting into the main creek which runs into the river Tuallomy [Tuolumne], in south westerly direction. 5 to 6 miles below where the deposit has been found very rich the gold occurs in the main stream resting on the same kind of rock mentioned above. Quartz is abundant in the region, & I noticed some dykes or beds of it several yards in thickness, between beds or strata of the slatey rocks.

Sat 21st Oct. Lost my mem. book with Mr Ricord's note of \$350. on the path to the lower camps.

Sun. 22^d Oct 1848 Staid in camp, reading. Much noise & drinking in neighboring camps. A great deal of gambling done here. Gold sells for \$5 to \$8. per ounce.

Wed. [Oct.] 25. Made sale of the remains of our invoice at cost to Mr Den, this being the best disposal we could make of it. Our expedition has not been as profitable as

we had hoped. We have cleared however about \$400 apiece. While we have done this others have done 10 or 20 times as much, especially those who sell grog, which I would not be engaged in for all the gold of the Plaero. One man tells me that since he opened his grog shop 7 days ago he had made \$7000 or over \$1000 a day. Last Sunday he took in \$2000 half of it in cash; the first day he cleared more than the whole cost of his stock. A dram costs on an average \$2. or more.

As a specimen of the prices at the Plaero I mention the following, which have been the prices at this place within the month past

Flour per lb	\$.50 to 4.00	Onions—per 100 lb	64.—
Sugar “ “	1.00 “ 4.00	Butcher Knives—	3.00 to
Tobacco	2.00 “ 4.00		8.00
Tea—per oz—	1.00	Shoes	16.00
Coffee—	1.00 to 3.00	Candles tallow .50 sperm	
Bullocks—	\$50 to 100.		1.00
Salt—per lb	3.00	Dried pears per lb	2.00

From the Indians all sorts of prices are taken & much deception is practiced. [James D.] Savage used an ounce weight which counterpoised 11 silver dollars. A common practice is to use a two oz weight for an oz &c. Gold sells for 6 to 8 dollars an oz in cash. It has been down to 3 & 4 among the gamblers, who have been very numerous here. For the last two days several hundred people have left this valley, & it now looks quite desolate.

Thurs [Oct.] 26. Started at 9 AM for home, with 4 sailors in company who had just arrived & being sadly disappointed in their expectations had applied to us for passage down. We traveled from 20 to 30 miles a day & reached the Pueblo Wednesday Nov 1st, the distance being not far from 135 or 140 miles.

One eve in approaching the Stanislaus Wilks went on ahead to find the road leading to our intended camping place. After finding it & before reaching the waggon his horse gave out & he was obliged to take up his lodgings under an oak without coat or blanket. Meanwhile we



“WHERE THE GOLD COMES FROM”

reached the place of encampment with the waggon. Wilks came up in the morning & informed us that 3 bears had followed on our track the night before, & had been very near where he was lying. We at the waggon did not get ready to turn in till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12.

We saw many poor horses on the road which having been worn out with hardships were turned adrift to die of starvation. One poor creature on the wide plain out of pure charity we undertook to lead to water 4 or 5 miles distant. He was made fast to the waggon to lead behind, but on arriving at the watering place in the eve the horse was missing, & was found a few rods back near the water to which we had been bringing him to drink choked to death, having been dragged by the neck nearly a mile behind the waggon.

The Stanislaus where we crossed it, several miles above the usual crossing, was fordable the water not being over 18 inches deep.

The San Joaquin was also fordable at the Pescadero [Pescadero] crossing being much lower than when we went up, the water about half filling the body of the waggon. My trunk & other articles I took over in one of the boats.

Not having reserved a sufficient supply of provisions for our large family we were obliged to buy flour & beef at the San Joaquin. The ferrymen keep flour for sale at \$20 per cwt.

The weather was beautiful all the way down, nights cool, days comfortable & pleasant. The plain of the San Joaquin was covered with wild geese; many Ducks, Cranes also made their appearance. Likewise many wild horses & antelopes.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the season we met great numbers of people on their way to the Plaero. At a small pool of water just at the entrance into the hills we found a modest appearing lad of Dutch origin, a recently discharged volunteer. He was alone, his saddle & blankets lying on the ground, & his horse, which appeared to be in the last stage of starvation, grazing the almost barren

ground near by. The poor fellow said he had nothing to eat, had been separated from his companions two days & with the rest of his company had subsisted for the last 10 days on horse flesh, still he was bent on reaching the Mines.

The evening before reaching home I got sadly poisoned with the yedera [yedra] or Ivy in searching for wood after dusk for a campfire.

Wed Nov 1st 1848. Reached the Pueblo at noon washed & shaved & changed. Had not shaved since I left, four weeks.

Thurs. [Nov.] 2^d Employ the four sailors to help me in surveying. Furnish the provisions & a tent & they camp by themselves back of Capt Fishers by the pond.

Scores of volunteers from the South have passed through town today on their way to the Plaero. They go prepared to spend the winter.

Frid. [Nov.] 3^d. Violent wind from the NW, air filled with dust, could not go out surveying as I had intended.

Settled accounts with Mr Wilks & found I had cleared on the recent trip to the Gold Region \$450.00.

[San José] Sat 4th Nov 1848 Surveyed Suerte Land of L. C. Coffin Esq.

Mon [Nov.] 6th Started about 11 AM with my four sailors as assistants for Mr Howards Ranch of San Mateo on the road to San Fran^{co} in company with Messrs Young & Jones who go to San F[rancisco] with a team for winter stores. Mr J[ones] & I stopped at Mr Mendenhalls & got dinner, albeit it was 3 or 4 PM.

Encamped for the night 3 or 4 miles beyond at Secundino Robles.

Tues [Nov.] 7th. Reached San Mateo at 3 PM. Left my men in camp, & went on with the team to San F[rancisco] to see Mr Howard. Encamped at the willows 5 miles beyond Sanches.

Wed [Nov.] 8th Went to Mr Howards; 4 PM attended Capt [Eliab] Grimes Funeral. Mr [Timothy Dwight] Hunt officiated. Mr H[unt] has just arrived from the S[andwich] I. & \$2500 have been subscribed to hire him

for a year in San F[rancisco]. Eve at Mr Stevens room at Mr Hunt's. Wrote some verses for Mrs S[tevens]. Spent the night at Mr Howards.

Thurs. [Nov. 9th] About noon started for the Ranch & reached camp at Dusk.

Sat 11th Nov Surveying along the shore of the Bay. Air damp and chilly; returned to camp about 4 P.M. Got potatoes & pumpkins of Chino Sanches.

Mon [Nov.] 13. Spent the day mostly with Mr. Bassham at the Sanches endeavoring to get sight of their papers and ascertain the bounds of Sⁿ Mateo.

The four Bros Sanchez viz Jose [de] la Cruz, Francisco, Chino & another agreed to have me survey their ranch and measure up its 4 leagues for \$600.

[Tuesday, November 14-Monday, December 18. This period is occupied by a trip to San Francisco after provisions and by the survey of the Sanchez ranch.]

Tues [Dec.] 19th Packed up & started at 10 for the Pueblo, packing the Mule & horse & riding a horse sent for by Mr Belden. Reached Secundinos [Robles] about 20 miles from Sanches at dark. Stopped over night.

[Wed. Dec. 20] Started at 10, left the men behind with the animals & reached the Pueblo at 1 P.M. Went to Mr Cooks who has purchased & occupies the house recently owned by Capt Fisher.

Sun [Dec.] 24. Meeting at 11 at Mr Youngs conducted by Mr Ramsdell, a Methodist exhorter recently from Oregon. But few people present.

Mon [Dec.] 25th Christmas. Give my men a holiday. Extra dinner today, pies etc.

Mr Phelps here this morning; lent him \$1600 in gold at 3 per cent per month, taking his note with J L Ruckel as surety.

Wed [Dec.] 27. Went to survey Lot 55 for Dr Cory, & found that but a small fraction of it exists.

[Thursday, December 28-Sunday, January 21, 1849. This period is occupied by surveying and mapping. The diary for these days consists largely of comment on the weather.]

Mon. [Jan.] 22^d. Mrs Cook nearly recovered of Measles. Mrs Weyman quite ill yet. Some 200 cases of Measles in town. Many children dying. Some hooping cough also.

Wed [Jan.] 24th Rec'd letters from the Islands. Bernice mentions the death of 826 natives from Measles in Nov. on Oahu. The disease has made great havoc at the Islands. It is proving very fatal to children in this place. One day I am told 9 died. This is mainly for want of proper care & nursing.

Thurs 25th Jan 1849. Finished Dr [William H.] McKee's map; am now up with my mapping & ready to go into the field again as soon as the weather permits.

Tues. [Jan. 30th] PM rode to New Almaden. Mule broke away in the night.

Wed. [Jan. 31st] AM leveling for a watercourse. Mule not found till towards night. Stay till tomorrow.

Thurs. [Feb. 1st] Returned to Pueblo. Eve, Mr Belden married to Miss Margaret Jones by Mr Dimick [Kimball H. Dimmick] Alcalde; awkward affair, hands not joined, very stiff. After the ceremony full supper, table cleared 7 times. Married in the bar room. Large crowd. At 9. adjourned to Mr Cooks & had a fandango. Did not attend this but went to my room upstairs. At 10½ began to think of retiring when the room being too scant below my room was requested & I adjourned to Mr Beldens store & turned in. The . . . [?] dance was then in the Chamber. Oceans of wine & brandy drunk, & most of the company drunk too. Broke up at 5 morning.

Frid. 2^d Feb Gave up my room for the wedding 3 days.

Sat [Feb.] 3^d Did a little surveying for P[eter] Davidson.

Mon Tues Wed [Feb. 5th-7th] Laying out lots for P. Davidson & Mr Baebauer

Thurs Frid Sat. [Feb. 8th-10th] Draughting &c &c. Sold 4 Town Lots for \$1200—, cost me \$50— Sold Lot for \$400 which I took of P. Davidson for laying out his lots this week. Earned \$500 by surveying this week.

Mon. [Feb.] 12. Started at 12 for San Francisco, fine

day; reached Sanches after dark. Stayed at Jose de la Crus Sanches.

Tues. [Feb.] 13 Started at 7, & reached San Francisco at 11. Found quarters with Capt Naglee. Dined at Mr Grimes. Eve at Mr Gillespies.

Wed. [Feb. 14th] Attending to some business. Dinner at Mr Grimes. Eve at Mr Gillespies.

Thurs. [Feb. 15th] Dined at Mr Howards. Eve Mr Gillespies & Dr [J. Henry] Poetts, an Eng[lish] physician from Valparaiso, pleasant family.

Frid 16 Feb. Started at 9 with Mr [William R.] Bassham for Pueblo, reached Sanches at 12 got dinner. Reached old Mr [Andrew] Whismans at dusk, put up for the night.

Sat [Feb.] 17. Reached Mission at 11 AM. Stopped an hour at Mr Forbes & reached the Pueblo before 1 PM.

Tues. [Feb.] 20th Bargained to survey Cook & Branhams Lot 14 into 50 vara by 115 vara lots for 2½ per cent of the lots, & 4 dols per lot cash or gold at cash value; they furnish stakes, I place them.

Agreed also to lay out Mr Whites land in similar lots, for 2 lots east of the 4th (7th) Street, & \$5 a lost cash or gold at cash price, he furnish stakes & man to set them.

Wed. 21st Feb. 1849. Began boarding at Mr Youngs this day noon with my two hands, at \$7 per week each.

Sat. 24 Feb 2 PM Public Meeting held at Court room. Four additional delegates were chosen to the [Constitutional] Convention—viz [Joseph] Aram, Belden, Reed & myself. But as I think it doubtful whether the Convention will ever assemble the office is rather an honorary than an onerous one. Capt Dimmick, Mr [Jacob D.] Hoppe, & Dr Cory had been previously appointed.

A corresponding Com[mittee] of 7 was also chosen.

Mon & Tues [Feb.] 26 & 27. Tues. had \$100 in gold coin stolen from my writing desk.

News reached us of the steamer at Monterey, 300 passengers. About 1000 have landed at San Francisco the last fortnight.

Wed. 28 Feb Survey a piece of Suerte Land & began

the laying off of Town lots North Town for Messrs White & Cooke. The old mustard very thick & troublesome.

Sat. 3^d Mar. At dark Mess[rs] Douglas, Rev J[ohn] W Douglas & Rev T. D. Hunt arrived. Rev Mr Douglass came on the steamer from N. Y. Brought a letter to me from Henry Olmsted. Got letters from E Strong, Prof Silliman & B[enjamin] S[illiman] jr.

Thurs. [Mar. 8th] Rode to Sta Clara to begin the survey there of Town lots. PM Mr Hunt started with me on his way to San Francisco.

Mon. [Mar.] 12. Surveying on Lot 14.

Eve. meeting held to see about hiring [Rev.] Mr Douglass; was Chairman of the meeting. \$1400 were subscribed on the spot. \$2500 were voted to be raised. The Committee app[ointe]d were Messrs Dimmick, Cory, Bassham, Campbell, Hoppe & myself. Three School Trustees were also appointed <elected> viz Dimmick Hoppe & myself.

Sun 18th Mar. Preached in Town Hall from Job 2:4 ["Yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life."] Mr Douglass not having returned from San Francisco.

Thurs. [Mar. 22^d] PM rode with Mr Phelps & Mr J. A. Forbes to the New Almaden Mine. Spent the night.

Frid. [Mar.] 24th [23^d] Visited the Mine, descended into the several pits or branches of the excavation. Magnificent bed of ore, depth 70 ft, below level of the mouth, 500 tons of ore piled up at the entrance. Visited also the San Antonio & Guadalupe Mines, only traces of the metal. Reached Pueblo at 4 PM.

Sun 25th Mar. Rev Mr Douglass preached; is out of health, arrived from Sⁿ Fran'co yesterday. Eve Mr D[ouglass] preached.

[March 27. Extract from a letter of this date, "Notes on the California Gold Region," in *American Journal of Science*, 2d series, vol. 8 (1849), pp. 415-419.]

Sat 31st Mar. Finished laying out Cook's & Whites Lands.

April 1st 1849. Sun. Preached for Mr D[ouglass] who has been unwell thro' the week. Throat sore; should not stand it to preach regularly.

Tues. [Apr.] 3^d Saw Col Mason from Mont[ere]y on his way to San F[rancisco]. 2^d steamer at M[onterey] on Sat. & reached San F. yesterday Morn. News to Feb 1st nothing of much importance but the gold excitement.

Wed. 4th Apl. Surveying burying ground 3 miles S of Town. Laid out 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres for Prot & Cath. cemetery & nearly 4 acres for a Potters field.

Thurs. [Apr.] 5th. This morn Prof Forrest Shepard of New Haven arrived from San Fran[cis]co having come out in the steamer *Oregon*. Rec'd also letters [from] Sister Mary & Cousin Martha & Mr Pratt of Meriden. Great excitement at home about the gold. Everybody coming.

Frid. [Apr.] 6 Busy every leisure moment preparing letters for home. Sent some specimens of Gold 15 dwts to Father, 4 specimens to E Strong & 24 dwts to Cabinet of Yale, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ dwts to D W W [Delia Williams Wood]. Sent them all to Rev E. Strong Care of Rev Mr Hallock at the Tract house N.Y. to be taken by Capt Thomas. Mr Douglass started this PM for San F. taking the letters.

Sat. [Apr. 7th] Mapping. Yesterday morn at 3 AM Mr Stones' excellent dwelling house & store burned down.

PM Prof Shepherd returned from New Almaden.

Mon Apl. 9. Prof Shepherd & myself started after dinner for San Franco by land, having sent John & our luggage & the instruments by launch. Going to Suisun to lay out a town.

Stopped at Whismans over night, good fare, beautiful day.

Tues Apl 10. Started at 7, lunched at Chino Sanches, reached San Fran^{co} before sunset. Put up at Mr Grimes. Town crowded. Many tents. Much business.

Sun. 15th Apl. Rev Mr Lyman preached. Mr L[yman] arrived in the Bark *Whiton* on Thursday, bound to Oregon. The *Whiton* brought several packages of papers & some letters from home.

Found Mr Boardman at Sⁿ Franco, just arrived from the Islands, brought over my Theodolite which came out in the *Serampan*. Poor instrument of Pikes make, prob-

ably not the one purchased by Prof Loomis & Mr Coe, but a poorer one substituted in the packing up. Cost 130\$.

Frid 20 Apl. The launch with my baggage did not arrive till last Sunday, & thus far in this week I have been waiting for a good conveyance to Suisun.

Started at 3 PM, on the brig *Apu*[?] capt Wyse & Waterman. My company, Mr Douglass, Mr Boardman, John & Alfred my chainmen; paid 25\$ each for our fare to Suisun & find ourselves & sleep on deck.

Reached Benicia at dusk. Capt Wyse with a drop too much ale.

Sat [Apr.] 21 Rose at Daylight & went on shore. Roused Prof. Shepherd, who went on board with us; saw Rev Mr [Sylvester] Woodbridge at Maj Coopers. Mr Shepherd took passage with us up the river. Got off at 7 ock, tide still flowing down, made slow progress, at 10 AM in Suisun Bay got aground, remained till midnight when with high tide the brig was got into the channel. Channel very narrow.

Sun. [Apr. 22^d] Started again this morn but in 10 minutes went aground again & did not get off till afternoon, when we got afloat & in a short time passed the beautiful bay of Suisun; noticed the site of the new town called N York at the mouth of the Sⁿ Joaquin, pretty good, a gentle slope back from River.

Passed Montezuma on our left, commands fine prospect of the bay.

About 15 miles further up reached the site of Suisun, the view of the river & adjacent country most beautiful, the site a magnificent one as seen from the river.

The brig anchored at the bank. Went ashore sun an hour high; pitched tent & encamped.

1st night out slept on Cabin floor by special favor, next night on deck, the vessel high & dry in the mud & lying over at angle of 30°.

Thurs 3^d May Finished laying out town. Mr Knight & family stopped on their way down the river in a launch & remained the PM & night. Towards night Prof Shepherd also arrived from above. This PM also Mr C. F. Reed an

Engineer recently from the States landed from a vessel bound up, wishing to get employment with me; invited him to remain in camp with me for the present. Had a fine supper of salmon which we got of Mr Knight.

May 4, Frid. Breakfast of salmon. Mr Knights party left. Soon after Prof S[hepherd] also [left] with the party with which he came down the river in a whale boat, the rest of the party having encamped a little above. Very windy this PM.

Bad news from above, collisions between the whites (chiefly Oregonians) & indians, 30 or 40 indians killed, 5 or 6 whites. Dangerous to be in the Mt^{ns} except in large parties well armed, the whites doubtless the aggressors. Will probably result in a general indian war, & great interruption of gold digging.

Sat. [May] 5. Running lines up the river & Ulpino creek, wet & swampy. Immense rush marshes extending out of sight towards the N.W.

Mon [May] 7th Mr Reed left to go to the mines. Surveyed north end of the Ranch.

Tues. [May] 8. Plotting &c., fine day. Vessel going up announced letters for us but did not leave them.

[May] 11 Frid Mr Boardman kept camp. The rest of us continued the survey towards the south about 7 or 8 miles from camp. Returned at sunset very much fatigued, no horses. Mr Douglass & John saw a bear & 3 cubs.

Mon [May] 14th Finished the field work of the Ranch. Walked about 20 miles.

Wed. [May] 16. While at Breakfast the *Louisa* came down with McDuffie. Messrs Howard, Buckler, Hooper &c &c on board. Took passage down. In a few hours reached N. York at the mouth of the Sⁿ Joaquin, a fair site for a town. Remained all night on acc't of tide. Capt Hammond of the Coast Survey laying out the town.

Thurs. [May] 17th Ran aground in Suisun Bay & lay from 11 AM till 7 PM, got off & anchored for the flow of the tide. Started early in the morn & at sunrise were off Benicia, where being obliged to wait the next tide we went ashore & spent 2 hours. A mint there coining \$5 pieces of

Cal^a gold. Com [Thomas Ap Catesby] Jones, Mr Larkin & others there. Half a dozen vessels also, two, the *Janet* & *Mercedes*, with Lumber (Phelps'). 20 or 30 houses to be put up immediately. Lots \$1000 each.

Frid [May] 18th Started at 11½ AM & reached San Francisco about dark, remained on board over night. A forest of shipping in the harbor; 5 vessels we saw enter the harbor from the ocean after we came in sight of the town a space of two hours.

Sat 19th May. Went ashore, beautiful day. Spent it in endeavoring to find a room. Got one of Mr Cooke in the P.O. building. Went on board the *Huntress* just in from Valp[arais]o to see the family of Mr Flint surveyor. An estimable man apparently. Eve at Mr Gillespies.

Sun [May] 20th. AM house crowded. Mr Hunt preached a fine sermon from "How long hold ye between two opinions &c."

PM Rev Mr [Albert] Williams preached on Brotherly love, & organized the first Presb[yt]eria[n Church of 5 members, 4 male & one female. The Ruling Elders to be ordained next week.

Eve. Rev Mr [O. C.] Wheeler Bapt[ist] preached an excellent sermon from Rev. [2:10] "Be ye faithful unto &c" ["Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life"], extemporized.

Mon. [May] 21st Can get no paper yet & am delayed in my draughting. Board at Mr Ross next door to where I room. Shopping, buying coat.

Thurs 24 May Mr Boardman & myself purchased of Mr Douglass 4 lots in Benicia, for \$4000.

Sat. [May] 26. Sold Mr Grimes 10 lots at the Pueblo in block 4 North section for \$3500 took his note for 60 days on 2 per cent per mo interest.

Sat. June 2^d. Mapping all the week. Mr Flint assisting me.

Wed. the *Edith* arrived; Mr Hoar of Mass called on me with a letter from [William M.] Evarts [a classmate of the Diarist at Yale]; is cousin of Evarts—out of funds.

Mon. 4th June Steamer *Panama* arrived this morn, 300



SAN FRANCISCO IN 1849

passengers. Mail 12000 letters, letters & papers about 150 bushels. Worked in the PO to help assort till 2 oclock AM to get my letters. Recd 6 or 7 letters from States.

Frid. 8th June. Nearly finished mapping. Started at 4 PM on board a launch for Pueblo. Stuck in the mud in the creek, worked passage almost. Reached town Sunday PM. Eve at meeting.

Mon. [June 11th] Doing business &c &c. Eve. meeting of school trustees, to see about reading Bible & praying in school, taught by Mr H Lyman. Cath[olics] object. Concluded not to omit prayer on any acc't; reading may be dispensed with for the present if the teacher pleases.

Tues. [June] 12th Started in Mr Stokes carriage for Sⁿ Franco, pleasant ride to Whismans 12 ^{miles}; stopped over night.

Wed. [June] 13th Beautiful ride to Town, arrived 5 P.M. Steamer *Oregon* arrived this morn, about 300 passengers, no mail.

Sat 23^d June Have done some mapping this week, some humbugging & some nothing.

Cut foot on stone while bathing yesterday; obliged to stay in the house.

[June] 24 Sun. Rev. Mr Roberts, Meth[odist] from Oregon preached. PM Rev Mr Wheeler pr[eached] funeral ser[mon] of man killed 2 days ago, Mr Beatty. 3 different murders last week in town.

Sat. [June] 30th Temp[erance] meeting at Sch[ool] house, put me in chair, meeting small.

Mon. 2^d July Steamer sailed at 12. 12 vessels arrived since Saturday, nearly 1000 passengers.

July 4th 1849. Wed. Hired Alfred. PM I sailed for Benicia in sloop *Caroline*; arrived at 7.

Much disturbed last night by firing of swivel about town. Mr Eggleston at head of the party. Many windows broken.

Mr Cheney & Mr Phelps to B[enicia].

Sun July 8th Rev Mr Woodbridge preached at 11 & 7½, excellent sermons, extemporaneous.

Sun [July] 15 Laying out lots in Benicia the last week.

The *Leonore* & *Ed Everett* arrived with New England Companies. Each brings a steamer. AM Rev Mr Williams. Eve Rev Mr Bradbury, full congregation in school house, 75 or 100.

Tues [July] 17 Started in beautiful little pleasure boat for Feather R[iver] with Mr L E Treusdale & 4 men to survey. Reached mouth of Sacramento in $2\frac{1}{4}$ h^s, dropped anchor a few miles above Merriets slough, not many mosquitoes.

[July] 18 Wed. Forenoon hot. Reached Sacramento at noon, astonished to find so large & growing a town, many buildings going up much business done, buildings extend over a large area. Very hot, saw Prof Shepherd, slept on board the *Whiton*.

Steamer *California* reached Sⁿ Francisco Sun Eve. Sorry to leave Benicia without my letters.

Thurs Morn 19th July Sailed up the River to Vernon at Mouth of Feather R. Saw Mr Crosby, Col Grant, Capt Savage & others.

Three or 4 sea captains had got the variations of the needle the wrong way West for East.

Sat. [July] 21st Surveying. Moved camp 3 miles down the R[iver] on the East bank. Pitched tents &c.

Mon 23^d July. Cool morn, rest of the day hot. Broke my thermometer in hanging it up. Laying out new town for Mr L E Treusdale. Mosquitoes abundant at night.

Tues. [July] 24. Still laying out the town. Suffered from heat, but more from mosquitoes at night; got but little sleep. Boat with Mr Treusdale & Mr Stevens went to Sacramento Monday, ought to be back today, has not come.

Wed. 25 July. Finished the survey for the present. Waiting for the boat, does not come. Mosquitoes very bad.

Frid 27th July. Waited about, & got passage to Sacramento; 4 or 5 miles down met our boat coming up. Transferred ourselves to that & reached Sacramento in the eve. Slept on board the boat.

Sat. [July] 28th Bot some fragments of lots with Prof.

Shepherd. 2 PM. started for Benicia, no wind, floated down 2 or 3 miles & stopped for the night.

Sun [July] 29th Stopped at Webster & cooked breakfast; no wind, got through Merrits slough & stopped for the night at the mouth of the Estero de Ulpino 3 miles above Suisun. 14 of us slept or tried to sleep on board our small boat. Made out better than I expected.

Mon [July] 30th Started early, blowing a gale. Reached Montezuma PM, blowing too hard to cross Suisun Bay, & put up for the night at Mr Hastings house now deserted. Cooked supper & slept well. Had 8 passengers. General Cohoon an ignorant man from Utica, amused us by hailing every boat or vessel to know if they were from “*San Sanfrisco*” & if the “*John G Costar*” had got in, Mr Batton from Warehouse pt, Mr Buckeye from Baltimore, Mr Cole, & several others were the passengers.

Tues. July 31st Blowing a gale. Started & in 6 rods ran aground & lay two hours for the tide. Crossed Suisun Bay, wind blowing a gale, heavy *nasty* sea, all got wet with spray & water dashed in. Reached Benicia 4 PM. No breakfast or Dinner. Out of Provisions. Greatly disappointed in finding no letters.

Wed. Aug 1. Wrote two or 3 letters for the States. Sent Alfred for my letters to San Francisco.

Thurs. Frid. Sat. [Aug.] 2^d, 3^d, 4th Mapping Springfield &c. Alfred returned Thurs Eve, found no letters for me from home, brought but one, from Prof Wooney at San Diego.

Mon [Aug.] 6th Finished Map of Springfield.

Tues 7th Aug Morn cool. Met Hon T B King of Georgia, interesting conversation with him respecting the mines, Calⁿ interests, public lands, his plan for draining & irrigating them &c &c. [“*T. Butler King’s Report on California*,” in 31st Congress, 1st Session, House Executive Document, No. 59. March 27, 1850.]

Eve called at Mr Wetmores. Saw Mr & Mrs W. Mr W. father, & Mrs Gray his daughter. Rev Mr Woodbridge also present.

Wed. 8th 1849, Aug. AM at Mr Phelps office. Mr

P[helps] unwell of Dysentery. Com. Jones & son, Hon T. B. King, Capt. Handy of the *Southampton*, & others present.

At Dinner Messrs Truesdell & Stedman made a bet, the latter that I would not be married within one year after my arrival home next spring, the former that I would, the forfeit to be Supper & fixings for 25 persons!!

Mon. [Aug. 13th] 10 AM went on board the *Mary Stuart* for San Francisco. Capt & Mate sick with fever & ague. All hands landsmen. Capt Frisbie, an Irishman of education, a physician & several other passengers. Mr McDonald of Glens Falls do. Lay to for tide in San Pablo bay.

Tues. [Aug. 14th] Went ahead with fine breeze till within 4 miles of Sⁿ Fran^{co} where at 3 PM jib halyards parted; some greenhorn let loose the staysail sheet & it tore in two & we had to drop anchor till morning for repairs.

Wed 15th Aug. 10 AM landed at San Fran^{co}. Streets full. Great change in the last 6 weeks.

Mon [Aug.] 20th Went for letters. P.O. crowded. Got no letters from home.

Wed 22^d Aug. Went to Benicia on board the *Emily & Jane*, fare for self & 3 men \$21; arrived at 4½ hours at dusk.

[Aug.] 23 & 24th Surveying. Set Jas Northup to finish the work, & myself John & Mr Kingsbury got on board the *Manuelo del Fierro* (Com Shubrick) for San Fran^{co} at dark. Slept on board. Made but little progress.

[Aug.] 26th Sun. Reached Sn Fran^{co} at dusk. Slept in Phelps's office. P[helps] not returned from Bodega.

[Aug.] 27th Mon Eve put baggage on board launch for Sⁿ Jose, with John & Kingsbury.

28th Tues. Aug. Started at 9 AM with Mr Beebee for Sⁿ Jose. Rode Mrs Gillespies Archy. Reached Whismans 5 PM.

[Aug.] 29 Wed. Fare & lodging \$3. Rode to Embarcadero & Pueblo. Slept at Mr Cooks.

[Aug.] 30 Thurs. Busy at Pueblo, preparing for survey at Embarcadero. Slept at Rev. Mr. Douglass room.

[Aug.] 31 Frid. Returned to camp at Martins. Making tent etc.

Sun 2^d Sept. Mule gone, no conveyance to Pueblo to attend divine service. Remained in camp.

Mon 3^d Sept. Surveying creek. Pleasant weather. Eve an American was stabbed by another at the Embarcadero 1½ a mile from here.

Tues. [Sept.] 4. Surv[eyin]g, passed the Embarcadero. Saw the man who was stabbed in great pain, moved to Pueblo in a cart. The culprit arrested & secured. Man said to be of respectable connections in State of N. Y.; altercation with the man, drew his knife & ripped up his bowels.

Frid. [Sept. 7th] PM rode to Pueblo with Capt Marvin to see Judge Burnett respecting the town. Staid at Mr Douglass room. The stabbed man dead & buried. Last night Mariano Hernandez a notorious gambler stabbed over the gambling table. Died 24 hours after.

Sat. 8th Sept Rode to Alviso, reconnoitered for bridge, boundaries etc.

Thurs [Sept.] 13. Running boundary of the tract on Martin's side of the River, less than 300 acres.

Frid [Sept.] 14 Sat 15th Running boundary on North side.

Messrs Arnold & Lewis called. Mr A[rnold] from Had-dam, brot letter from Trumbull.

Sun. [Sept.] 16th Made effort to get to Pueblo to church; sent boy to catch horse, did not succeed & obliged to give it up.

Sat. 22^d Sept. Laying out the town.

[Sept.] 23^d Got a horse of Mr Smith & rode to Pueblo to church. Mr Campbell (Meth) preached. Mr Douglass had been to Monterey the past week to marry Mr [Rev. Samuel Hopkins] Willey, & did not reach home till last eve.

Eve. Rev Mr Loveland preached (Meth).

Sat. 29th Sept Finished field work. Rec'd letter from Holkins to go to San Fr^{co} as witness in case of Phelps & Treusdell.

[Sept.] Sun 30th No means of getting to Pueblo. Eve.

start in boat for Sⁿ Fr^{co}. Steamer *Oregon* arrived last Thurs 21st but brot no mail. Left mouth of creek at 10 PM, no wind, rowed most of the night & forenoon, some wind as we approached San Francisco, reached town at 4 PM, tired. Law suit put off. Set myself at work to effect a settlement. Trial to come on Thurs AM, after much negociation compromise effected just as the case was called in court, property divided.

Wed. [Oct.] 3^d. Dr Judd with Alexander & Lot arrived from the Islands on their way to U.S., Eng[land] & France in reference to the recent French outrages.

Thurs [Oct. 4th] At work helping divide the lots.

Frid & Sat. [Oct. 5th & 6th] Commenced dividing Suisun Lots.

Sun. 7th Oct. AM heard Dr [John L.] Ver Mehr, of Ep[iscopal] Ch., at the Amⁿ house. Good preacher & most excellent man. He brought a letter to me from Mr Trumbull. Called on him last eve. His wife a lovely woman & himself a man of excellent spirit.

PM heard Mr Hunt at Mr W^{ms} tent. Schoolhouse made a prison of & Mr Hunt turned out.

Mon. [Oct. 8th] Baggage & men arrived from Alviso; commence mapping.

Thurs. [Oct.] 10th [11th] Rained nearly all day, the first this season. Great damage to goods in the streets, probably over 100,000 dols worth destroyed. Capt Simon had 36,000 dols worth partly under water in Sacramento Street. Little steamer *Mint* made her first trip up the River, the first boat from this place thro' to Sacramento.

Steamer *Cal[iforni]a* arrived brot no U S Mail, a private mail bro't 2000 letters. Recd one from DWW [Delia W. Wood], others from other friends by private hands. 430 passengers. Messrs Pratt & Paddock among them.

People extra busy in raising up buildings, substituting wood roofs for cloth &c &c, a new impulse to building given by the Rain. City growing astonishingly.

Frid & Sat. [Oct. 12th & 13th] Two vessels the *Selma* & *Susan* with companies of Conn. men have arrived this

week. Many calls with letters of introduction. Time largely drawn upon. Mapping moves slowly.

Sun. 14th Oct 1849. AM Rev Mr Wheeler at Bap[tist Church]. Sub[ject] Boldness in approaching the throne of grace, house full. Counted over 200 vessels in harbor.

Wed. [Oct.] 17. Took stage for Pueblo at six, red bird line; reached P[ueblo] at 3 PM dining at Moodys.

[Oct.] 20th Sat. Returned by stage to Sⁿ F. Measured distance 49 6/10^m, to Moodys 10 6/10, Sanches 33.

[Oct.] 28th Sun Heard Rev. Mr [Flavel S.] Mines Ep[iscopalian]. Excellent sermon on Naaman. Yesterday the Steamer *Senator* came in, but brot no mail.

[Oct. 29. Extract from a letter of this date, "Gold of California," in *American Journal of Science*, 2d series, vol. 9 (1850), pp. 126-127.]

Wed. 31st Oct. *Unicorn* Steamer in but no mail. Great indignation in town. PM 5 ock. Steamer *Panama* in, brot the mails down to Sept 16. Great rejoicing.

Thurs. Nov 1. Steamer *California* sails this eve at 10, full of passengers.

Mr Hoadly surveyor called on me with letter from Mr H. L. Bidwell of Hartford.

Frid [Nov.] 2^d, & Sat 3^d. Cloudy, some rain thro' the day & much at night with high wind causing several vessels in port to drag anchor, & doing some damage. Steamer *Senator* dragged several miles. Streets very muddy. Many exposed goods damaged.

Sun 4th Nov. Rev Mr Wheeler p[reached] on Xⁿ [Christian] unity.

Eve Prof Shepherd & Mr Doug[lass] at my room; drew up form of grant for a University.

Frid 9th Nov Started for Pueblo at 6 in stage. Col. L. B. Hanks went also. Reached Pueblo at dark. Staid at Hoppe's.

Mon [Nov.] 12th Rode with Capt & Col Hanks to New Almaden 13 miles by measure. Not permitted to enter the pit of the mine. Very hospitably entertained at Mr Walkinshaws by his daughter, a very attractive young lady. Reached house at 8.

Tues. [Nov.] 13th Election, voted, wasted most of the day.

Thurs. [Nov.] 15th Began surveying Capt Hanks place.

Sun. [Nov.] 18 Prepared to preach for Mr Douglass, but the public room usually occupied on the Sabbath was found to be locked & used as a carpenters shop, so no meeting was held, except a small prayer meeting at Mr D[ouglass]'s room.

Tues [Nov.] 20th. Surveying Branhams Lot, 34.

Thurs. 22^d Nov Surveying Town lots. PM attended funeral of Capt. H[anks]'s child. 1st burial in the new ground at the SⁿJuan Baptista Hills 3 miles S of Pueblo.

Wed. [Nov.] 28. Went to Alviso 9 miles with Mr Hoppe to lay out lots at the landing.

Thurs. [Nov.] 29th Thanksgiving. Beautiful day. Stopping at the Ranch of Berreyeza, Californians know nothing of our Thanksgiving. Laying out lots.

Frid 30th Nov Finished the lots at the landing.

Eve. Rev. Mr [S. V.] Blakeslee came from the Pueblo & stopped over night, talked of a College.

Sun [Dec.] 2^d The small Steamer *Sacramento* arrived at Alviso this morning, the first steamboat on this route. She is small, of light draft & found no difficulty in coming up the creek at dead low tide; leaves tomorrow at 9 ock.

Mon [Dec.] 3^d Took stage for Pueblo; arrived at 2 PM, very muddy, fare \$5. Thirty or 40 passengers went in the steamer which left at 11 AM for San Fr^{co}.

Tues 4th Dec. Made arrangements for business with Mr Day.

Wed. [Dec.] 5th Rode in stage to Alviso to finish the survey, fare 4\$ each for myself & man. Steamer *Sacramento* arrived from Sⁿ Fran'co at 4 PM, left Sⁿ F. at 8 AM. Reached the mouth of the creek at 1 PM.

Thurs 6th Dec. Laying out 10 acre lots of Alviso. Steamer left for San Francisco.

Frid 7th Dec Finished survey. Eve. walked to Sⁿ Jose. Dr Lee called on me, had lost all he had in getting to the Mines & spent the 100 dols I let him have, & now comes to me as he says as his last resort to keep from starvation.

[Dec.] 8th Sat. Paid Dr Lees passage up & his board for several days to come, & spent most of the day in trying to start a school for him; can find scholars enough, but no room. Must take him as chainman.

Sun [Dec.] 9th Rev Mr Brierly (Baptist) preached at Mr Jones house. No fire, few present. Another meeting (Methodist) at Mr Young's.

Mon. [Dec.] 10th Mr [Sherman] Day & myself conclude to open an office together. Rainy.

Thurs. [Dec.] 13th Summoned on a jury to try the case of Clement & Jones.

Frid. [Dec.] 14th At the court all day, little progress made. Court in little Chinese house, very smoky stove, very small & uncomfortable Room. Judge an ignoramus. Mr Kincaid Judge of 1st instance.

Sat [Dec.] 11th Steamer *Mint* came up, bringing scores of Legislators, office seekers etc.

Sun 16th Dec Rev Mr Douglass preached in Hall of rep[resentative]s, few present.

Mon [Dec.] 17 Legis[latur]e organized. On Jury.

Wed. [Dec.] 18. On Jury. Eve Jury met to form their verdict. Left at 9 PM. Dark & stormy. Got soaking wet & very muddy. Rivers very high. No communication with Sⁿ Francisco.

[In his *History of the College of California* (San Francisco, 1887), p. 5, Rev. Samuel H. Willey records a memorandum, dated San José, December 18, 1849, which reads as follows: "It is the understanding that Chester S. Lyman, Sherman Day, Forrest Shepard, Frederick Billings, and S. H. Willey, become a corporate body according to the laws of this State, as soon as the Legislature shall have passed the necessary acts, to hold property for the foundation of California University or College, and to be part of a Board of Trustees of such university or college. . . ."]

Thurs. [Dec.] 19. Jury gave verdict for the Def[endant]. Judge a numbskull. Jury paid \$54 for 9 days.

Sat [Dec.] 20. Election of state officer. Voting viva voce,

candidates all present. Mr Whiting Sur[veyor] Gen^l. I withdrew my name the day before.

Sun [Dec.] 21. Rode to burying ground to select a grave for Mr Merrill a lawyer deceased.

[Dec.] 22^d Mon Started at 4 AM in stage for Alviso. Thick fog. Team tired. Driver half blind, lost road, went round & round on the plain, an hour getting a mile. Overtook the Baggage waggon which also had lost its way in the fog. Took the Baggage waggon the rest of the way, team good, reached Alviso about 7½. Waited on board the Steamer *Sacramento* 1½ h^s for the other stages. Steamer started about 9, left the creek at 11, reached Sⁿ F. 4 PM, thick fog on the Bay till 1 PM. Water smooth & pleasant passage.

Great fire in Sⁿ F this morning. Parker house & 20 or thirty other buildings burnt. Loss estimated 1,000,000. Mr Phelps office in danger. Everything moved on board ship *Huntress*. My 4 trunks among the rest. Slept on board the *Huntress*, Capt Goodwin. Mrs G[oodwin] with him.

Jan 12 [1850] Have been in San Francisco the last fortnight & over, arranging my business preparatory to leaving for home. It is very slow doing business here; have now nearly made my arrangements, & concluded them as successfully as I had anticipated. Made a map of Sacramento & did some other work enough to pay expenses. Hope to leave by Feb 15 or Mar 1st.

Vessels arrive every day. In one day 12 came in. The city grows as rapidly as ever. Money however is very scarce.

Streets shockingly muddy, some of them almost impassable.

Wed. [Jan.] 16th Went to San Jose in Steamer *Sacramento*, 30 passengers. Mr [P. B.] Cornwall member of Legislature from Sac^o with his beautiful & new married young wife, a Miss Cutler, from over the M^t^{ns} this summer. Reached Alviso at 4. Pueblo at 8.

Sat. [Jan.] 19. Sur[veyin]g Dimmicks suerte.

Sat 26th Jan. Mapping mainly during the week, rained

nearly every day, arranged with the Governor respecting my 1/10th of Alviso.

While at Gov^r Burnetts was called out by Mr Senator Douglass & John Murphy & requested to go immediately & marry Murphy & Miss Virginia Reed [one of the Donner party]. Knowing the violent opposition of the parents, declined. They went for the Lieut Gov. [John] McDougall, & married themselves before witnesses at Cooks. An exciting time. [James Frazier] Reed had threatened to shoot Murphy. They rode to the Mission & spent the night.

Mon 28th Jan. Left at 8½ AM for San Fran^{co}. Steamer *Sacramento* left Alviso at 1 & reached San. F. at 8.

Sun [Jan.] 27. Mr Douglass preached AM, Mr Brierly PM at the Assembly hall; 25 only present. [This entry, in the original, follows that for the 28th.]

Wed & Thurs. [Jan. 30th & 31st] Busy arranging my affairs, selling Benicia lots, &c. Sleep at Phelps office.

Frid Feb 1st. Steamer *Panama* sailed at 4 PM. Phelps, Benton, Stedman & Dennison leave for home. Much disappointed in not being ready to go with them; (DV) shall be ready for the S[teamer] of Mar 1st.

Sat. [Feb.] 2^d. Sold Benicia lots \$17,000—.

Sunday, [Feb.] 3^d I heard Mr Hunt at Bap[tist] Ch morn & eve. Clear bright day, as also the two preceding. Mud just begins to diminish in the streets.

Tues 5th Feb. 1850 Steamer *Unicorn* arrived from Panama. No mails or papers. She left Panama on the 11th Jan. *Crescent City* disabled on the other side.

Wed. [Feb.] 6th Steamer *Sacramento* advertised to leave at 9 AM for San Jose; went down at 8½ to take passage & found she had left.

Have slept in Mr Lords room, over Wright & Holkins office.

Thurs. [Feb.] 7th Left at 9 AM in the *Fire Fly* for San Jose. The *F F* is a small iron steam propeller, & runs very steadily. At 3 PM when near the mouth of the Guadalupe ran on a shoal & had to ly by for the tide to finish falling & rise again.

Frid 8th Feb. Went with Mr Day to begin the survey of Narvaes land.

Mon [Feb.] 11th Went to survey of Narvaes Ranch. Staid over night at the old mans.

Tues. [Feb.] 12th Cup of Tea at 8. Breakfast at 11 AM. Sent Lusk to town for chain. Got to work 11½. The way the natives improve time! Returned to town at eve.

Sat [Feb.] 16. Rode to Alviso with Gov^r Burnett to measure some lots; returned at dark.

Sun. [Feb.] 17 Rev Mr Brierly preached in the house of rep[resentative]s AM. Mr Douglass PM.

Mon. Tues. [Feb.] 18. 19. Busy mapping & getting ready to get away.

Frid [Feb.] 22. Washingtons B[irth] day, celebrated by oration in the Rep's Hall by Mr Van Voorhies Sect of State. Fair performance. Ball in the eve.

Sat 23^d Feb 1850 No steamer up yesterday. All ready to leave for San Francisco & home, but no conveyance.

Sun [Feb.] 24. Steamer out of repair & did not get off till this morning—obliged to go. Pleasant day & very quiet on board.

Mon [Feb.] 25. Found Dr McKee gone, who was to have paid me 1500 dols on his purchase in Alviso.

Wed. [Feb. 27th] Sold my ticket in lower cabin & bo't another in stateroom.

Frid. Mar 1st 1850. Went on board the *Oregon* with baggage about 1 PM. Found the state room a miserable one next to the engine, the shaft passing thro' it, dark, un-ventilated, no better than the lower cabin berth which I had sold. Must make the best of it. Noisy times in the cabin, from parting of friends with singing & drinking. Among others Com. Jones whose son goes passenger with us.

Started about 6 PM & passed out of the Golden Gate at dark. Turned in early & slept very well notwithstanding the noise of the engine.

Sat [Mar.] 2^d. In Monterey Harbor. Mr Larkin & family came on board.

Sun. [Mar.] 3^d. In the channel of Santa Barbara, be-

tween the Islands of Santa Rosa & St Nicolas & the main land. The Mission of Sta Barbara conspicuous.

During the night came to anchor in the harbor of San Diego.

Mon Morning [Mar.] 4th About 9 AM went ashore & spent an hour gathering flowers. The harbor is well enclosed, the ship is anchored just inside the entrance near the Hide houses. A new Town called San Diego is here laid out. \$1000 asked for $\frac{1}{2}$ a 50 vara lot. There is but one new building going up. At the barracks are several officers & their families.

The Town of San Diego proper is at the head of the harbor 5 miles distant. It looks like a pleasant place enough for a town from the water, but it is said to be very desolate & hot in summer & going to ruins.

The high mt^{ns} in the distance are covered with snow to their base & present a very wintry aspect, more so than I anticipated in this latitude. They seem to be a spur or continuation of the Sierra Nevada. Some of the Ladies also went ashore. 3 or 4 vessels lie at anchor in the harbor. A very quiet dull place.

Steamer started at 4 PM.

Tues. [Mar.] 5th. Ran 195 miles since yesterday, both sails & steam.

Spent the eve. in the ladies saloon, very pleasant company.

Wed 6th Mar. Soon after sunrise before leaving my berth heard the alarm—"a man overboard!" The boat was instantly stopped but she was under such headway it was impossible to save him. He sank before the boat reached the spot where he had been. It was a boy belonging to the ship. He fell from the guard abaft the wheel house.

Delightful weather to day. Not seasick but a little unwell with a cold. Lat 26° 24' Long. 117° 07' Dist[ance] run 224 miles, to nearest land 30 miles.

Frid. 8th Mar. Reached Mazatlan at 4 PM. Entrance of harbor narrow & rocky. Town pleasant from water; anchored near 2 miles distant. Most of the Cabin pas-

sengers went ashore to be back at 8, as the Capt designed leaving tonight. I did not go, thinking there w'd be little time for observation.

Canoe of eggs & 4 Mexicans & a strange passenger upset along side. Most of the eggs swam, so did the passengers.

Sat. Mar. 9th Plenty of oranges & Bananas brot off for sale, 3 or[anges] for 12½ cts, half a dozen bananas do, eggs 4 for do.

Went ashore after breakfast, hot; walked the principal streets. Did some shopping with Mrs Lount, bought some tomatoes & oranges, & a Panama hat, the latter for \$4—

Dined at the Canton Hotel, with Mr & Mrs Larkin, Mr & Mrs Lount &c &c. Chickens, fish, tomatoes, potatoes &c.

Went off at 2½ in the Capts boat. Feather fan thrown overboard by Mrs Ellis!

Enjoyed the shore visit much. Streets of the town narrow but very neat. Some handsome buildings but mostly of one story, some extensive dry goods stores. Mrs Lount bo't a Pena dress & scarf at \$250. Mr Larkin a sarepa for \$160.

Started at 4½ PM from Mazatlan.

Sun 10th Mar. At 3 AM steamer ran ashore on a sand beach in the fog 10 or 12 miles above San Blas. Did not get off till 7 oclock. Just before getting off a hawser parted & 2 men were much hurt by a block on deck. I was standing near at the time.

Reached San Blas about 9 AM. Did not go ashore. Many trees & much vegetation visible, but few houses. An old castle on a rock presents a romantic feature. Many boats with oranges, onions, bananas, limes &c along side.

Left San Blas at 2 PM.

Mar 12. At 7 AM met Steamer *California* 350 passengers, remained near her half an hour, got papers &c, little news. Entered Acapulco harbor & came to anchor at 7 PM. The *California* had been 17 hours in steaming from here to where we met her; we have made the same distance in coming down in 11 hours. There must be a strong current down the coast.

Wed. 13th Mar. At Acapulco. Landed after breakfast, rambled thro the town. Entered stores &c, walked up to the fort, gardens; plantains, Bananas, oranges, Cocoa nuts &c growing. Tasted many fruits in the market.

15. Frid. Mar 1850 Trunk in the steerage broken open last night & robbed of \$400 all the man had. The thief c'd not be detected. The am't was made up by the passengers, subscribed \$2.50. On examining the baggage Capt P[aterson] says he is satisfied there is at least \$700,000 in the steerage, & \$2,500,000 on board ship. Several in the steerage have from 20 to 50,000.

Sun. 17 Mar. Capt read services at 11. Invited me to officiate, but I was too unwell.

Mon. [Mar.] 18th Meeting in Cabin. Letter drawn up complaining of Capt Patterson & officers.

20 Mar. Wed. Anchored at Panama about 1 PM. Situation of the town picturesque. Islands in the Bay beautiful. Mr Lount went off to get quarters, found Mr Adams on shore. I went off with Mrs Lount about 4 PM. Steamer lies 1½ miles from shore. Have excellent quarters at Señor Arostemeno's. Had a private room myself. Sen A. is a gov't officer of rank & his family is of pure Castillian blood. Two very fair daughters contributed much to the pleasure of our sojourn. The elder Maria Teresa apparently about 18 is an interesting & accomplished lady, understands a little English.

[Mar.] 21 Thurs. Spent the day rambling about Panama & preparing to get off tomorrow.

Engaged 2 mules of Runnels for \$30. Paid \$1. for my room, cheap surely compared with California. Walked around the town wall, date 1703. Fine water at the Convent.

22^d Mar. Frid. After great delay in getting the mules we bid adieu to our kind hosts at 9 & started for Gorgona. Hired an extra Muleteer for \$6 just after leaving town, on acc't of the apparent deficiencies of the one sent along by Runnels. Reached halfway house 12^m at 2 PM, got dinner. Mr & Mrs Lount had arrived an hour earlier & dined. Mr & Mrs Campbell & myself kept along with the

baggage. Started on at 3 & reached Gorgona at eight. Whole dist[ance] from Panama about 25^m. Beautiful moonlight eve. Put our luggage in the iron house occupied by Mr Ellis & family. Slept in a native Bamboo house.

Sat 23^d Mar. Gorgona a miserable native town on the S W bank of the Chagres River which is here shoal & not many yards in width. Sun very hot. Hired a canoe for Mr & Mrs Lount & myself for \$30 & started for Chagres at noon. An awning defended us from the sun & we found the voyage on the river very agreeable. Stopped at eve at a native half way house or hotel, where we got a very good supper of ham eggs fried plantain &c &c with milk. Another party, some of our fellow passengers crowded down to the table set for us & robbed us of our supper, till they had finished it & our landlord had prepared another.

I slept in the boat on the river.

After breakfast at 8½ started on; could hear of no steamer at Chagres. Stopped at a house & cooked a fine dinner of chicken &c. At 1 PM stopped at a village about 8 miles down from our last nights place. A Yankee establishment is going up here. Got good quarters in a native house for our party of 3. At eve scores of our fellow passengers arrived & stopped for the night.

[Mar.] 25th Mon Rose at 4, got tea, & started at 5½ down the river. Beautiful stream. Reached Chagres at 2 PM. Mr Adams had engaged good quarters for us at Don Luis' a negro Lieut Col. under Bolivar & a unique fellow, extremely honest, has good house & sets a good table.

[Mar.] 26 Tues. The *Empire City* & *Cherokee* which arrived on Sunday sailed today about noon taking most of the *Oregon's* passengers. Conclude to wait for the *Georgia*. Rambled on the fort, took a fine sea bath.

[Mar.] 27th The *Georgia* arrived at 7 this morning, brot 1200 passengers.

Went on board at sunset, no rooms in readiness, after some trouble got a stateroom.

Ship sailed about midnight, very hot, slept but little.



CROSSING THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA DURING THE GOLD RUSH



1 Ap'l 1850 Entered the beautiful harbor of Havana, the landscape most charming all around the harbor. Took a ramble in the city.

2^d Ap'l. Rode with Mr & Mrs Lount 4 or 5 miles out of town among the beautiful gardens & orchards of the suburbs. The groves & orchards of the Gov Gen'l at Cerro 4 miles out delightful. Lines of omnibuses run here. Rail road to Matanzas. Orchards loaded with Mangoes not yet ripe. Passed several beautiful Plazas—the Tacon, Vapor &c. Gone 2¼ hours, at \$1 an hour. Got ice creams, ice-soda &c.

3^d Mar. [Apr.] Went with Lieut Whipple to the large plaza El Vapor with Fox' Magnetic Dip apparatus to take obs^{ns}; had but just commenced when Mr W[hipple]'s chronometer (200\$) purse of \$25 or \$30 &c were stolen by some of the persons around from the place where he had laid them at the foot of a tree.

No knowledge of the thief. This robbery interrupted our obs^{ns}. Went to Am Consuls. Did not finish our obs^s.

4 Apl. Thurs At 9 AM the *Falcon* from N[ew] O[rlans] arrived. At 11 the *Ohio* from N. Y. 150 passengers. At 1 PM the *Isabel* from Charleston.

Sailed at 3 PM, were outside & under full steam at 4, the view of the town & Castle Moro while leaving beautiful.

Not having reported to the clerk my design of going to N Y my room was given to another & I am removed to N^o 12 forward cabin, a better room.

Took on 31 Passengers from N. O. Cholera is very prevalent in N. O. It is said on good authority also to have broken out in Havana, 20 or 30 soldiers having died of it.

Mon. [Apr.] 8th. Weather quite cool, put on thick clothes. Passed Sandy Hook about 5 PM. Air chilly. Stopped at Quarantine at 5½. In dock at foot of Warren St at sunset. Took coach for the Irving House, found plenty of Californians here. Room 62 with Lieut. Whipple. *Cherokee* arrived on the 4th. *Empire City* on the 5th.

Thurs [Apr.] 11th Went to New Brunswick to see Esther [the Diarist's sister].

Sat [Apr.] 13th Returned to N.Y. & took cars at 2 PM for N[ew] Haven. The weather this week raw & wintry; have taken cold. Reached N.H. at 5 PM. Eve called on Delia [Wood, the "D.W.W." of the diary].

Sun [Apr.] 14. Went to Mr Strongs Ch[urch] AM, heard Rev Mr Wright of W. Haven. P.M. went to Center Ch[urch]. Eve accompanied D[elia] to the meeting of the City Mission Soc at Center Ch.

Wed [Apr.] 17th Talked to the Senior Class in [Yale] College, by request of Prof Silliman on Cal^a. Showed specimens &c. Dined at Prof S[illiman] Jr. Eve. tea party at Mr Strongs. Hotchkiss^s, Shermans &c.

Thurs. [Apr.] 18th. Became engaged to Delia W. Wood. Spent most of the day with her.

Wed 12th June Mr & Mrs Wood returned from Illinois. Wedding fixed for next Thursday.

Thurs 20th June 1850 Very hot, about sunset heavy thunder showers, eve clear & cooler.

At 8³/₄ married by Dr [Leonard] Bacon at the residence of Hon. Jos. Wood N^o 80 Geo. Str N Haven Chester S Lyman & Delia Williams Wood, in presence of the family (all except W^m) & about 20 or 25 other witnesses. Every thing went off well. Company left about 10. Frances arrived just at eve from Olean. Cake & cards for 100.

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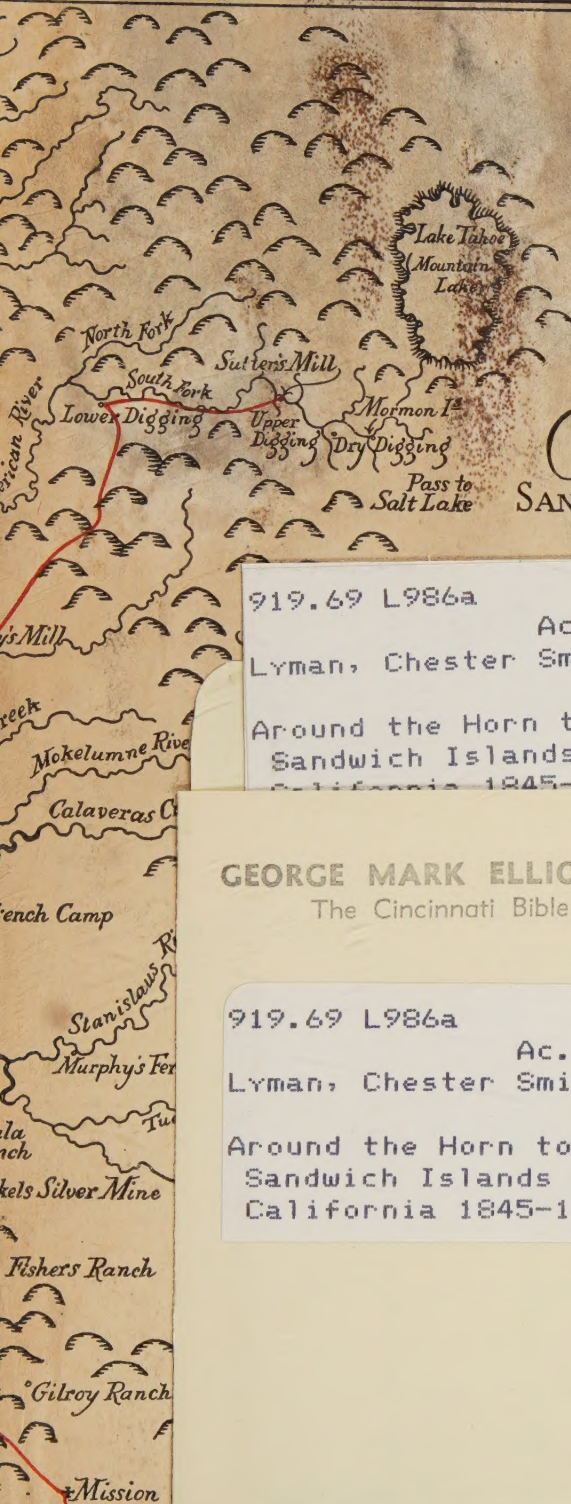


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